TEACHERS COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

The New
REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

VOL. LXXXXI NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 23, 1937 NUMBER 1177

Contents

The Week 169

Editorials
- Steel Bargaining and Agreement 172
- Shall We Have Public Housing? 173
- The Next Phase in Spain 173
- Soviet Chills and Fever 174

General Articles
- Panic over Labor ..... George Soule 175
- A Warning to Pre-War Novelists .. Robert Cantwell 177
- Recent Medical Progress ..... Iago Galdston 180
- For Al Smith ..... Bruce Bliven 184
- Summer Noon (verse) ..... Elizabeth Jane Astley 186
- Washington Notes ..... T. R. B. 187
- Other People's Money ..... John T. Flynn 188
- First Convention ..... Stark Young 189
- Notes from Hollywood ..... William Saroyan 190
- The Bandwagon 191

Correspondence 191

Summer Book Number
- Prize-Winning Blank Verse ..... Edmund Wilson 193
- Approach (verse) ..... Josephine Miles 194
- Announced for Summer Publication 195
- Lloyd George's Final ..... Robert Morss Lovett 196
- Agricultural Adjustment: First Phase ..... Mordecai Ezekiel 196
- Humanism and Hollywood ..... Lincoln Reis 199
- Give Me Liberty ..... Frederick L. Schuman 200
- Some of the New Fiction ..... Nathan Asch, Harry Thornton Moore, Norbert Guterman, Richard Vaughan and Christopher Lazare 202

The Week

THE week ending June 15 was dominated by strike news in the United States. The walkout against the three big steel independents was extended to Bethlehem Steel; sporadic violence occurred as the employers tried to keep some of the plants open or to open others. In these efforts they had the usual aid of police, deputies or vigilantes. Nevertheless they were unable to break the strike in the main plants, which was reinforced by a shutdown of the captive coal mines owned by the companies in question and a union threat to close down any commercial mines supplying them. On complaint of the SWOC, the National Labor Relations Board cited Inland Steel for violation of the Wagner law in refusing to sign a contract; this test case will soon be heard. Meanwhile the Senate voted to investigate interference with the mails and other issues connected with the strike. . . . The Brewers and the Building Service Employees declined to pay the A.F. of L. assessment to fight the CIO; a conference between John L. Lewis and President Ryan of the Longshoremen may presage a shift of that organization to the CIO. . . . Congress continued hearings on the wages-and-hours bill, and voted the investigation of tax-dodging requested by the President. . . . The Treasury issued new bonds, needing hundreds of millions more to buy up and sterilize gold which continues to flow to this country.

IN Spain the insurgents appeared to be on the brink of capturing Bilbao, raining shells on it from artillery and bombs from airplanes. . . . Questions naturally arose as to how they got this huge supply through the non-intervention blockade; such things are not manufactured in insurgent Spain. . . . The British government meanwhile induced the Germans and Italians to reënter the Non-Intervention Committee and resume the blockade patrol, on condition that the Spanish combatants would consent to provisions assuring the safety of their ships. It was also understood that any future reprisals for attacks on warships would depend on consultation among the four major powers. . . . The world was puzzled and disturbed by news from the Soviet Union of further convictions and executions for treason, including eight prominent generals. Russian influence in world affairs was correspondingly diminished, while all sorts of unconfirmed rumors concerning affairs in that nation gained currency. . . . The British Imperial Conference adjourned without decisive result, except for an arrangement for military and naval consultation on imperial defense. . . . Hitler roused speculation as to whether he contemplated some new dramatic move by announcing that he would speak in Danzig on Saturday—the day of the week on which his former surprises have been announced. The Poles, however, doubted that he would seize the free city or the Corridor.

THOSE who drafted the majority report of the Senate Judiciary Committee in opposition to the President's plan to reform the Supreme Court apparently felt the necessity to cover the weakness of their position with the hysterical intensity of their language. The arguments of the witnesses, expert and other, who appeared before them made no impression. It is a war of phrases. To the Senators,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the supreme and dominating phrase is "maintaining the independence of the judiciary." Or "defending our constitutional system." The Senators, of course, are incensed against the people who want to do anything about the Court, not about the judicial abuses that led to the proposal. They have no alternative to offer. They cannot themselves agree as to what should be done, or indeed that anything at all should be done. Their peroration indicates that they are perfectly willing to have any judges that may have been appointed or may be appointed nullify any legislation they may pass, no matter how necessary it may be. "We are not," they say, "the judges of the judges." The judges should, they believe, be above all criticism or influence, even from the determination of a majority of the voters to use their government for social ends.

SOME persons who might otherwise favor the President's Supreme Court proposals hesitate in the belief that the Court is guardian of our constitutional guarantees of civil liberties. It is argued that to weaken the Court's power and influence in any way or for any reason makes just so much easier the task of some future dictator bent upon sweeping aside all guarantees. A valid approach to this question is to examine the record of the Supreme Court in cases involving civil liberties. This has been done in very illuminating fashion by Osmond K. Fraenkel, a member of the New York Bar and a director of the American Civil Liberties Union. Mr. Frankel's study, which has recently been issued in pamphlet form by the ACLU, considers eighty-two important cases that have come before the Court since the founding of the republic. Among them have been many fine decisions upholding personal rights of citizens, but the record as a whole points in the other direction. It was found that in those cases in which clear-cut issues were raised, forty-five decisions went against civil liberties and only thirty-seven upheld them.

A NEGRO boy who already has spent six of his twenty-three years in jail for a crime that in all probability he did not commit now faces a sentence of seventy-five years in prison. The Alabama Supreme Court has upheld the conviction of Haywood Patterson, first of the nine defendants to go on trial when the Scottsboro cases were resumed for the fourth time in the Alabama state courts in January, 1936. Of the preceding three convictions, all of which had carried death sentences for Patterson, two were set aside by the United States Supreme Court and one by a courageous decision of Circuit Judge James E. Horton of Alabama. Defense counsel announces that Patterson's case will be taken to the United States Supreme Court for the third time, which is believed to be the first instance in history that a criminal case was brought that many times to the Court. Meanwhile, the other defendants in Alabama are scheduled to go on trial on July 6, and there are persistent and authoritative rumors of efforts being made to work out a compromise settlement between the state and the defense. Alabama desires this because of the unfavorable publicity the trials have brought, but it is difficult to see what kind of "compromise," short of exoneration and complete freedom, could be accepted.

LAST week's meeting of the American Medical Association had historic importance for two reasons. After many years of hostility, the Association has at last reversed itself on the matter of birth control, which it has now decided is a legitimate part of medical practice; our readers hardly need to be told that we consider this excellent news. Equally welcome is the fact that the Association has also reversed itself on the subject of socialized medical aid for low-income groups. Although the AMA did not endorse the astonishingly liberal, sweeping recommendations of its New York section, it did recognize, after all these years, the necessity for government assistance to fill the vast gap between ordinary medical practice and the charity work that doctors have always done. In an exchange of compliments with President Roosevelt, the AMA virtually pledged itself to coöperate with the government's efforts to obtain at least minimum health standards for the whole population. No sensible person wishes to impose upon the medical profession from the outside a scheme of socialized practice to which any considerable number of its members are hostile. The doctors have a vital contribution to make, larger than that of anyone else, and it is good news that they are now prepared to make it.

FOR the first time in its history, the executive committee of the Yale University Corporation has granted a hearing to an outside organization. At the meeting in New Haven on June 12, five members of a committee representing the American Federation of Teachers presented a petition urging that Professor Jerome Davis be restored to the faculty of the Yale Divinity School and be given a three-year contract. The members of the committee were allowed to speak individually in favor of the petition. Outside Woodbridge Hall, where the meeting was being held, a picket line was set up by 200 members of the Teachers' Union, who included in their ranks faculty members from Columbia, Harvard, City College of New York, New York University and Smith. No official comment was forthcoming from the University, but as one organization after another investigates the Davis case and issues findings generally unfavorable to Yale, there is evidence that the University is at least beginning to take cognizance of outside opinion.

A FEW weeks ago, Cairo, Illinois, was in the headlines of the world's press because of its heroic battle against the rising flood waters of the Ohio River. Now it is back in the news for a different reason. Cairo has many persons on relief, most of them Negroes. It contributes hardly anything toward

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their support—the town is hard up—but gets the money from the Illinois Relief Administration. Large numbers of those on relief are getting only $1 per week per person. They do not receive rent, fuel, clothing or medical care. When the flood danger was at its height, numbers of jobless men were put to work strengthening the levees. They were promised remuneration, but this has not been given, although many were taken off the relief rolls because of this "employment." It seems that in the rush of the emergency, when some men were working straight through twenty-four hours, employment records were not kept and the payroll was grossly padded. Accordingly, the PWA refused it. Mr. Edward Parker, an organizer for the Illinois Workers' Alliance, went to Cairo to do what he could for these victims. He was promptly arrested and held incommunicado for two weeks. Bail was then set at the outrageous sum of $6,500 and the court at first refused to release him even when unencumbered real estate worth $26,000 was offered as security. In the interest of "peace and quiet" an effort is being made to put Parker away for a long term. He is being defended by the Workers' Defense League, 20 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, and money is urgently needed for his defense.

POLICE of New Orleans recently made book-suppressors in other cities look like amateurs. Instead of banning a single volume, the Louisiana cops raided and suppressed an entire bookstore. Some of the books they confiscated as Red propaganda included Paul de Kruif's "Men Against Death," Charles A. Beard's "The Rise of American Civilization" and a biography of Justice Brandeis. Confronted with stupidity of such colossal proportions as this, one's first impulse is to laugh, and this indeed would be the proper reaction were not the implications of the affair so serious. New Orleans is ruled by a political machine second to none in corruption, and when these venal politicians form an alliance with extreme reactionary elements the outlook for human rights in New Orleans is gloomy. Upton Sinclair has protested to Mayor Maestri over the seizure of his novel "No Pasaran!" as "communist propaganda." Liberal groups all over the country are denouncing the raiding and closing of the People's Book Store and the arrest of Julius Reiss, state secretary of the Communist Party in Louisiana, as a "dangerous and suspicious character without visible means of support." Mr. Reiss rightly says that his salary of $10 a week as a paid organizer for the Party, small as it is, certainly gives him a visible means of support and is larger than the salary of a great many underpaid workers in New Orleans.

ON PAGE 143 of last week's issue of The New Republic, we reported a discovery made by the editors of The New York Post regarding a remarkable discrepancy between a dispatch from the Bilbao correspondent of The Times of London published in that paper and the same dispatch as it appeared the same day in The New York Times. In the American paper some damaging information was omitted which showed that women and children in a small village near Bilbao had been deliberately bombed by German airplanes, killing twenty and injuring many more. We promised that if The New York Times explained this remarkable discrepancy, we should report that fact to our readers. The Times has now published a report from its London correspondent indicating that the version sent to America was the one first telegraphed by the Bilbao correspondent; that on the basis of subsequent information he expanded his dispatch for the later editions of The London Times and that since this fact was not indicated in any way by the London paper, the correspondent of The New York Times did not realize the message had been changed.

HIGH on our list of favorite organizations is the New York League of Women Shoppers, because as a consumer group it has the wisdom to look into the vital question of working conditions in the industries that its members patronize. Recently members of the League have studied conditions in the laundry business and have published an excellent pamphlet, "Consider the Laundry Workers." They found that last year the median wage for women interviewed in the survey (in all, 102 workers in 54 plants) was $13 a week, and the median for men only $1.15 higher. While net income for New York State laundries has been rising since 1935, the median weekly wage for laundry workers has fallen off, particularly after the repeal of the state minimum-wage law. Hours are unbearably long: three-fourths of the men interviewed worked more than fifty hours, often from sixty to seventy hours a week. Conditions in most laundries, with bad ventilation, exhausting temperatures and humidity, and wet, dirty floors are not only disastrous to workers' health, but in violation of existing state laws. Since the employers have broken the laws at will, the League concludes that "the union offers the most complete solution for the laundry workers."

THERE ought to be a law about these doctors. We have just been reading the amazing stories telling of the new brain surgery in which a loop of wire is used to cut away small cores in the white matter of the frontal lobe. This operation, according to press reports, relieves tension, apprehension, anxiety, depression, insomnia, suicidal ideas, delusions, hallucinations, crying spells, melancholia, obsessions, panic states, disorientation, psychalgesia (pains of psychic origin), nervous indigestion and hysterical paralysis. No sooner had we read this list than we realized, like Jerome K. Jerome under similar circumstances, that we had all these diseases, in chronic aspect, and had had them since infancy. We also realized that practically everyone we knew was likewise a comprehensive A to Z sufferer. There appears to be no way out, except to perform the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

operation, or operations, on everyone now alive, and all babies henceforth. It seems pretty plain to us that the doctors just thought up these diseases so as to give themselves the job of cutting out round cores from our brain with a piece of wire. We hope they enjoy it.

Steel Bargaining and Agreement

CAN THE government, under the Wagner labor-relations law or any other law, compel an employer to sign a contract with a union? This is the technical issue brought to the front by the strike against the Republic, Inland and Youngstown steel companies. It is started on its way to solution by a citation of the National Labor Relations Board against Inland Steel, brought in response to a complaint by the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee. Nobody can say in advance what the courts will decide, if either party to the dispute does not accept the decision which the Labor Board will reach after appropriate hearings. But it is interesting to try to see what the logic of the situation is. Our own answer to the question at the beginning of this paragraph would be, in brief—it depends on the circumstances.

The Wagner law does not mention the signing of contracts, but it does impose upon any employer subject to federal jurisdiction the duty of bargaining collectively with a union representing the majority of his employees. What does collective bargaining mean? It means, according to custom and common understanding, that the representatives of both sides shall meet and discuss their differences in an effort to reach an agreement about terms of employment. Obviously the government cannot compel these parties actually to reach an agreement. It may be able to impose terms of employment which it considers desirable, but such action would certainly not be bargaining, collective or otherwise. Does this mean that the obligations of collective bargaining are fulfilled simply if the representatives meet and part without making any progress at all toward an agreement? No, the courts have already decided that the bargaining must be in good faith; the employer who simply goes through the motions while giving evidence that he is not willing to agree to a reasonable settlement does not obey the law. Whether an employer does or does not bargain in good faith in any given case is largely a question of facts and judgment, the answer to which must be left with the Labor Board, which according to law must investigate and decide complaints arising under it.

So much was already well understood on the basis of previous experience. But the independent steel companies now present us with a new variation of the riddle. They have met with representatives of the union. They declare that they recognize the right of collective bargaining. According to a statement by Youngstown Sheet and Tube, it was pointed out in the conference "that the Company's existing wage rates, hours of labor and terms of employment are the same as those requested by the SWOC." The Company was willing to bargain about any other grievances. But—"the point upon which the representatives of the SWOC and the Company did not agree was that of signing an agreement. The Company has no written employment agreements and its policy has been, and is, not to make written agreements of this character." In other words, the new question seems to be whether the steel independents are guilty of not bargaining in good faith because they are not willing to sign a contract embodying conditions which they are verbally willing to grant.

Why should an employer take such a position? The Youngstown statement advances numerous reasons, and doubtless lawyers will make long arguments on the question. But two real motives appear clearly through all the verbiage. One is that a signed agreement tends to give the union power and prestige. In the employer's somewhat biased language, it creates "an artificial need for labor-organization officials to negotiate annually a new agreement as each old one expires, regardless of the necessity for any change in the provisions of the agreement." It may be "employed unfairly by labor organizations to coerce employees into joining." The other motive is that written agreements have to be lived up to for a definite period of time. They "cannot be made sufficiently flexible to meet rapidly changing conditions."

Now of course the term of a union contract does not have to be for a year—it can be three years, five years or any other period. Any desired degree of flexibility can be arranged for during its course, by allowing either party to suggest changes semi-annually, annually, or even at any time at all. What the employer really has in mind is that a union contract is a tangible evidence of union recognition, and a promise to continue to deal with the union in good faith at least for a certain period of time. An employer who merely meets with union representatives and says he is granting as good conditions as the union now asks, but will not bind himself by a signed contract either to continue these conditions for any specified period or to go through a stipulated procedure in making future adjustments, is not bargaining in good faith. He obviously hopes that the union will not be established as a permanent bargaining agency, and expects to change the terms of employment in the future without the necessity of seeking its consent.

In sum, then, we should say that while the government cannot compel an employer to sign a union contract if, after a sincere bargaining effort, an agreement on terms of employment cannot be reached, it can and should rule that an employer who goes into a union conference with the announcement that, while he is willing to grant the terms the union now asks, he is not willing to sign a contract em-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bodying them, is not bargaining in good faith and is disobeying the law. To be willing to reduce a verbal agreement to paper is considered an indispensable evidence of good faith in any kind of business dealings we ever heard of. Any reader of this paper would be justly suspicious of any business promise which the promiser is not willing to "put in writing."

Shall We Have Public Housing?

ONE OF the outstanding failures of the Roosevelt administration is in the field of housing for the poor. As John T. Flynn points out elsewhere in this issue, and as we have said many times before, one elaborate scheme after another has been proposed, only to come to nothing. The HOLC and the FHA have between them loaned large sums for house repair and construction, but all this money has gone to those with larger incomes than the poorest one-third of the nation. The PWA has made a beginning in a few cities, but even its houses, despite the official denials that this is true, are beyond the reach of thousands of slum-dwellers.

There is pending before Congress the Wagner-Steagall bill that would make the beginning of a real housing program, benefiting by the experience of half a dozen European countries which in the past two decades have accomplished much in this field. The Wagner-Steagall bill is far from perfect; but it represents the best that is now politically possible. Indeed, there is grave question whether it does not exceed that best. The embattled real-estate interests of the country are working in Washington like beavers to prevent the bill from going through.

This measure has recently been sabotaged by one who might have been counted among its friends—Secretary Morgenthau. He has proposed that government aid should be given to private construction in the form of an outright and immediate cash grant of 40 percent of the total cost. This plan flies in the face of all the lessons bitterly learned by the Europeans in the past twenty years. Over and over again it has been proved that gifts of this sort are diverted into the pockets of the speculators and do not help the poverty-stricken tenants.

The Wagner bill proposes instead government loans for construction and then annual direct subsidies to make up that part of the rent which the tenant is unable to pay. As Senator Wagner says, his scheme gives a constant check against extravagance, waste and profiteering. It could be stopped at any time if this proved desirable. It does not tie up the government for forty to sixty years, as the Morgenthau plan would do. It would be government aid for the maintenance of decent housing standards for the poor, comparable to hospital service and free public education. The Morganthau scheme would mean, if we contemplated a billion dollars' worth of housing, a cash outlay of the staggering sum of $400,000,000 at once; the Wagner plan begins with the comparatively modest expenditure of $50,000,000. The experts agree that under this scheme, housing could be made available at slightly more than $4 per room per month, and on no other basis can the cost be got down anywhere near this level.

There have been disturbing reports from Washington that President Roosevelt favored the Morgenthau plan. We are confident that if he would consult the ten leading experts on housing in the entire world, not one of the ten would support Mr. Morgenthau's ingenuous amateur scheme.

The Next Phase in Spain

AS WE go to press, the fall of Bilbao appears imminent. The development is a serious setback for the Spanish government forces, but by no means a fatal one.

The campaign in the North has always been only an incident of the Spanish struggle. Bilbao, as The New Republic has pointed out ("Foreign Stakes in Spain," in our issue of June 9), is of value to Germany and Italy because of the important iron ore and other raw materials available through this port, but it is far less valuable to Franco in a strategic sense. The rebels are manufacturing no arms; they are fighting with German and Italian weapons plus a possible small amount of equipment seized when the revolution began and not yet used up. If the war went on a long time, ores shipped through Bilbao to one of the fascist states and returned in the form of arms and ammunition would be important, but for the immediate present, this is not true. The decisive theatre of the war continues to be the Madrid front, where the government still holds out despite the confident predictions of the rebels, now many months old, that the fall of the city was only a few days away.

The siege of Bilbao was the final proof, if any were needed, that Franco's war is being fought for him by Italians and Germans. No attempt was made even to disguise the Nazi airplanes that carried the brunt of the aerial bombardment which shocked the civilized world by its wholesale murder of non-combatants. The terrific shelling of the government trenches was obviously on a scope beyond the unaided resources of Franco's men. It is now quite clear that the blockade by the Non-Intervention Committee has not suspended the flow of men and munitions from either Germany or Italy into Spain. It is also clear that Hitler, who a few weeks ago gave indication that he was sick and tired of the costly Spanish adventure, has agreed with Mussolini to continue his support of Franco for the present. What the Italian dictator paid for this agreement, we can only guess.

Perhaps the sorriest role of all is that played by Great Britain. It is the fashion to explain and excuse British actions by saying that her government is determined not to permit a general European war,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no matter what sacrifices this attitude implies. But in fact, British policy for the past eleven months has been consistent with a supplementary theory. Whenever the cause of the Spanish government seems to advance, Britain begins to work for an effective embargo to prevent foreign aid from getting into Spain. When the insurgents win the advantage, the British Cabinet immediately returns to the "shut-eye" plan under which Italy and Germany are allowed to do whatever they please in the theatre of war operations, provided only they do not publicly admit what they are doing.

We can recall no more monstrous piece of hypocrisy in modern times than the present "blockade" of the Spanish boundaries. Italian and German warships are about to participate again in the solemn farce of the blockade. The shelling of Almeria by the Germans now recedes into history, along with the Italian use of poison gas against the Ethiopians. Naval officers of the fascist powers will look the other way while their comrades in arms, who happen to be assigned to other duties, transport supplies to the rebels, or use those supplies against the Spaniards, on the land and in the air. Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the whole matter is that the world has learned to accept these things with a shrug of indifference.

Soviet Chills and Fever

THE TRIAL and execution in Moscow of prominent Communists for alleged treason and participation in Trotskyist or fascist plots has been followed in quick succession by secret trials and executions in other parts of the country, involving not only persons prominent in political administration, but executives and workers in industry, the railroads, and finally in the army. The conviction of eight generals on a charge of conspiracy with a hostile foreign power is as sensational as news could well be, for if high officers in the army cannot be depended upon for loyalty, it is hard to know where loyalty could be found.

We are not concerned here with a question about the guilt of the defendants. As we have many times stated in connection with the Moscow trials, no evidence is available on which people in this country are warranted in making an independent judgment. If this is true in the cases of which the record has been published, it is doubly true of other cases in which we have merely the announcement of the result. We have no reason to question the probity or the ability of Soviet prosecutors and courts, civil or military.

Still less are we impressed by the efforts of partisans of Trotsky to make an issue of these trials for political purposes. If the question is one of revolutionary policy, that pursued by the Soviet government seems to us more sensible and certainly more acceptable to adherents of progressive democracy than that advocated by Trotsky. If the question is one of iron political dictatorship within the Soviet Union, there is no reason to suppose that Trotsky would be any less inflexible and ruthless than Stalin —in fact, there is a good deal of reason to suppose that he would be more so.

What does concern us seriously is the unmistakable evidence that these events provide of weak morale within the Soviet Union. If so many prominent persons in so many important fields of endeavor, and scattered so widely over the nation, are guilty of treason, it is obvious that existing rulers and existing institutions do not command all the loyalty and inspire all the confidence that are desirable for stability at home and immunity from foreign attack. If so many intelligent opponents of the regime cannot gain a hearing on important issues through open discussion, even within the Communist Party, and instead are driven to conspiracy, the social democracy favored by Marx, and promised in the new Constitution, is a long way off. If it is still necessary to employ a ubiquitous secret police to check up on the loyalty of high officials and leaders, no healthy and confident state of mind can exist. A nation shot through with espionage and suspicion, a nation in which everyone is afraid to show the least departure from orthodoxy, is one in which not much real progress can be made. Industry, the government and the military lose some of their best minds, and many of those who escape suspicion dare not accept responsibility for action or innovation.

Friends of the Soviet Union have been hoping, and even from time to time observing, that this sort of thing would be outgrown with time. It was to be expected soon after the revolution. But if now, after twenty years, plots and counter-plots still dominate the scene, a chilling influence is bound to be exerted on all those who expected something better. The blow that these incidents have delivered to the prestige of the Soviet Union throughout the world is at present beyond measure. Communists should not deceive themselves as to the reason; it is not just wicked Trotskyites or faint-hearted liberals who are responsible. The events themselves are of historic significance and carry their own implications.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1937, IN THE U. S., BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49TH STREET, NEW YORK.

EDITORS

BRUCE BLIVEN MALCOLM COWLEY R. M. LOVETT
GEORGE SOULE STARK YOUNG

ASSISTANT EDITORS

T. R. CARSKADON OTIS FERGUSON ELIZABETH HULING

TREASURER: DANIEL MEBANE

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

HAMILTON BASSO H. N. BRAILSFORD JOHN T. FLYNN
WALDO FRANK E. C. LINDEMAN W. P. MANGOLD
JON. MITCHELL LEWIS MUMFORD R. G. TUGWELL

RATES: SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN, FIVE DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Panic over Labor

IT IS possible to work up a first-class panic about recent events in industrial disputes, and many newspaper commentators, not to speak of employers, politicians sympathetic with them and persons engaging in private conversations, have done their best to do so. The basis was laid by the wave of sit-down strikes and the horror at this supposedly unlawful seizure of private property. There followed a scattering of brief and unauthorized sit-downs in the plants of the motor companies which had signed agreements with the union. In the past weeks, strikes of a more conventional type have given rise to mass picketing, clashes between pickets and police leading to killing and wounding of strikers, the barring of non-strikers from factory gates, the refusal of the Post Office to take packages of food and clothing through picket lines, a quickly ended general strike in the capital city of Michigan to obtain the release of arrested pickets, and the shutting off of power from a large number of cities, by strikers who acted contrary to the instructions of their own leaders.

All this commonly leads to the conclusion that "labor is getting out of hand" and must be sharply checked by public authority. People develop a sense of insecurity; they fear all kinds of imaginary dangers as well as those they actually read about. Noting this fact, even some who are often liberally disposed play upon their own particular variety of fear—the fear of fascist reaction. Was it not the labor trouble and the seizure of factories in Italy after the War that led to Mussolini? Did not Hitler climb to power on the basis of opposition to Reds and revolution? Unless a strong and resolute government curbs disorder here, it is said, we shall have our own movement for a dictator. Thus, because of their very dread of authoritarian government, these Cassandras support the demand for authoritarian measures against labor in its present struggles. The effort of others, who have kept their heads level, to apply reasonable adjustment through tolerance and persuasion loses the backing of some who ought most of all to favor such adjustment.

If there should be a danger of fascist reaction, it would be because not enough persons in influential positions resist this panic and decline to become unduly excited. It will not do to say that if labor is unwise enough to practise excesses or to outrage "public opinion," labor itself is responsible for the opposition it arouses. We are all makers of public opinion, and the responsibility is ours. If labor oversteps the boundary of caution, our responsibility not to fly into a panic becomes all the greater. Excitement does not help in calming excited people. But, first of all, let us make sure that we correctly know and judge the facts about what labor is doing.

In the first place, it is well to remember that it is the sensational events, involving conflict and violence, that command the most space in the newspapers, and that these are sporadic and exceptional rather than characteristic. The picture of labor in revolt, enforcing its will by direct action all over the country, is not a true one. Every day bargaining is going on, and contracts are being signed, in many cities and in numerous industries, without any strikes at all. This work-a-day progress of union organization and adjustment with employers does not make the big headlines, and often does not get mentioned in the news. Even in the steel industry, historic battleground of bitter conflict, a large proportion of the workers have been brought under union agreement by peaceful processes. Among the 70,000 steel workers affected by the present strike, important violence has occurred so far only in South Chicago, and the other incidents which are the subject of controversy have taken place in a minority of the localities in which the struck plants are situated.

The next point to be emphasized is that the events about which people are excited are not only sporadic, but are also incidental to the major issues of the controversy, and unless these major issues are kept in mind, a fair judgment cannot be rendered. It is the custom of debaters who have a weak position to distort the attitude of their opponents by magnifying subsidiary issues so that they obscure the basic situation. Thus, the sit-down strikes were made the occasion for a fevered defense of the rights of private property, and the steel strikers are now accused of defiance of the government by interference with the mails—both arguments strengthening the inference that Red revolution is at work—whereas as a matter of fact what the men really wanted was merely union recognition and signed contracts.

If defiance of government is an issue, the employers are guilty in a much broader and more basic sense than the workers—a fact that is easily apprehended if we think of the background. Under our supposedly representative democracy, industrial populations and those who share their point of view elected representatives who put on the statute books laws intended to safeguard the existence of genuine unions and their right to bargain effectively, laws forbidding espionage against unions, company-controlled unions and other unfair labor practices. These laws were defied by anti-union employers as long as the courts could be used as an instrument to obstruct their operation. Finally the Supreme Court made flat defiance no longer possible by validating the Wagner labor-relations law. A large number of important employers then acceded to popular will and governmental authority, and a new era of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

peaceful collective bargaining was introduced. But Mr. Tom Girdler of Republic Steel and his present allies made use of a loop-hole through the plain intent of the law by refusing to sign contracts with the steel union. This was a direct challenge to the union to fight out the issue by means of an economic war. Government could compel Mr. Girdler to talk with the union and to refrain from disrupting it by ordinary methods, but he doubted that government could compel him to sign a contract with it. The strikers are therefore struggling to practise what it has been decided is in accord with the public welfare, and the employers are trying, by defeating the strike in frontal attack, to destroy or weaken the union in their plants and so be exempted from true collective bargaining.

With these considerations firmly in mind, we are justified in examining the incidents that have occurred. Of course, a good end does not legitimatize all possible means that may be utilized to achieve it, and it is fair to ask whether strikers have overstepped the boundaries of permissible action in trying to win, and if so, what should be done about it. We need not revive the question of the sit-down strike in the present instance, except in so far as it conditioned many of the timorous to believe that labor is on the rampage and to be jittery about any unfortunate event that may occur. In this connection we should remember that the sit-down as a means of gaining the major right of collective bargaining was defended in the pages of The New Republic by Dean Leon Green of Northwestern University Law School, as well as by other legal authorities. We should also remember that it was a device adopted by labor to avoid clashes between pickets on the one hand and non-strikers, police and company guards on the other, and that if it had been utilized in the present strike, most of the turmoil probably would not have occurred.

When employees walk out in an old-fashioned strike like that in the steel industry, there are three customary ways of viewing the situation, only one of which approximates the truth, in most instances. The first picture is that usually presented by the employers. It is that of outsiders coming in, rousing an unruly minority to revolt, and using force and intimidation to keep away from their jobs the majority of loyal workers. According to this view, violence is occasioned by the strikers, and company guards, police, deputy sheriffs, or even the National Guard are necessary to protect the plant and the men who want to work. If this could be achieved, the strike would quickly be over.

The second picture is the legalistic one that a legitimate strike is, or at least ought to be, conducted in terms of unhampered individual choice and sober rational persuasion. Some men choose to strike; that is their right. Others choose to continue working; that is their right. The union may delegate a few pickets to persuade the non-strikers to join their ranks, but everything must be in perfect order, and the pickets must be polite; they cannot cry "scab" or hurl other insults at the workers. The whole thing is rather more gentlemanly than a business sales campaign, and it is the duty of the police and the courts to keep it so.

The third, and I believe the realistic picture, is that a strike is a mass movement in which emotions and excitement run high and intangible considerations dominate. It is mainly a conflict of loyalties and prestige. The union must maintain the spirit of the strikers; the employers must try to create the impression that the union will lose, that it is opposed by public opinion and the forces of "law and order," that the plant is running effectively or is about to do so. The union makes demonstrations of strength by mass meetings, parades, and especially by mass picketing. Sporadic violence may occur as a result, but the main point is not to exercise physical coercion, but to bring to bear moral and social pressure. The employer does his best to prevent or break up these demonstrations of solidarity, and often is directly or indirectly responsible for the violence that may occur in doing so. If he can get police, courts or soldiers on his side, he has a powerful ally. A real strike is no strawberry festival in any case, but it is not to the interest of the strikers to provoke large-scale violence, and experienced union leaders know it. The only way to win a big strike is to keep together a majority of the employees as determined and convinced unionists, not to prevent them from working by force or threats.

Such a situation must be handled carefully by public officials if they are not to aid the employer in breaking the strike or are not actually to precipitate serious trouble. The Chicago police who shot into the parade of strikers several blocks from the Republic Steel mill were criminally reckless, if nothing worse. It is the most elementary prudence for the federal government to refrain from helping Mr. Girdler to provoke violence by using force in getting food into his plants through picket lines, on the excuse that this food is sent by mail, and "the mails must go through." The way to minimize disturbance of the peace during a strike is to enlist the coöperation of both sides, if possible, in doing so, not to fight on one side against the other. The way to end the trouble is to mediate and settle the strike. The way to avoid trouble altogether is to convince employers like Mr. Girdler that they cannot evade the law of the land by smashing unions.

Of course not all that strikers have done or may do is beyond criticism. After many years of subjection, they are last free to unionize, and believe that both right and authority are on their side. Most of them are inexperienced as union members, and the unions have grown so rapidly that the officers, particularly in the lower positions, are likewise inexperienced. The provocation in many instances is severe. But unfortunate incidents are no occasion for alarm or wholesale condemnation. The wonder is that under the circumstances there have not been more of them, and worse ones.

GEORGE SOULE.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Warning to Pre-War Novelists

ONE SUMMER afternoon several years before the War Henry James observed a quiet, studious young man enter Kensington Gardens and, with immediate gravity, absorb himself in a book. The novelist had rented a penny chair and was sitting in the shade of a great tree, savoring the immense mild summer rustle and the heat-softened hum of the city, that "densest and most materialized aggregation of men on earth" of whose vast trampling insensitivity he was always so acutely aware. He saw the young man open his book, and through the mysterious workings of a subject operating on an artist's imagination, he suddenly visualized, rounded and complete, as if it had already been realized in prose, an involved and politically significant story—a story that he apparently set himself to write at once.

In view of the commonplace incident inspiring it, "Owen Wingrave" constitutes a kind of laboratory specimen for a study of the relationship between a writer's observation of the normal and everyday life of his environment—the little things of his daily living—and the looming social conflicts that exert their pressures upon him. For "Owen Wingrave" is an anti-war tale about a military family, the ghost of dead soldiers and the tragic consequences of an individual rebellion—an artful piece of work in itself, but much more than that if you think of how it came to be written, what first called it into being, and what it suggests, as a piece of pre-war fiction, about the writing of these last few pre-war years of ours.

Later in life James liked to think back on the moments when his stories first occurred to him and to speculate on why he had worked them out along the lines he did. He said the problem probably interested nobody but the infatuated author, but as he thought back on the genesis of "Owen Wingrave" he decided that the story must have been already worked out in his imagination, with the characters defined and the situation fully conceived, so that he did not so much invent the tale as stumble on it, in the London park, ready-made. His characters, before he wrote of them, were like disembodied ghosts hovering in the air, begging him to bring them to life; he could half-hear them and half-see them and almost imagine them in the situation they were to inhabit—until suddenly something happened, he stumbled into the right atmosphere, or he spotted the right incident, and they became visible to him, more real than living people, their complexities understood, their problems easily grasped, and he knew what he wanted to write.

The incident might be no more than this one of the young man opening a book. It might be some word overheard at a dinner or, as with "The Altar of the Dead," it might be some commonplace evidence of the brutality of London upper-class life. But whatever it was it had the effect of liberating forever these imprisoned imaginative beings; lightning flashed soundlessly; characters as yet invisible to the world collided and had stormy scenes; the air was filled with a ghostly tumult. Or it was as if a microscope had suddenly been brought into focus on some ordinary object of the everyday world, and instead of this simple and well known shape a whole new life abruptly appeared; what the world saw only as a young man reading a book, he saw as a teeming welter of dramatic conflicts, sequences, climaxes, fading into each other and appearing so vividly they dimmed the real world of the park and the shade.

Owen Wingrave is being prepared for a military career and is considered the most promising student of the best instructor in England. He is the son of a long line of generals and colonels, defenders of the Empire, most of whom have died in battle. But Owen has started to read—he is sitting in a penny chair in Kensington Park reading Goethe as the story opens—and the more he reads the more barbarous the military business seems to him, until eventually he can see no sense in it at all. He is not exactly brilliant, but he is honest, forthright, matter-of-fact, disciplined, possessing all the qualities that make people think he ought to be a superb officer. As a rebel he is a sort of plodding British officer in reverse—no eloquence, no inspiration, just an imperishable tenacity. When he is told that wars cannot be prevented he snorts like an old colonel—let the ministers know that we'll hang them if they get us into war, he says, that will sharpen their wits. As for the generals, he says, hang them. Whenever war starts, start a revolution. And since Owen is essentially an unimaginative British officer, he is astonished and appalled at the storm his opinions bring down on him, and because he has all the courage necessary for his calling, he sticks to his guns to his death.

This is the way James works it out. Owen's instructor is a patient, experienced, peace-loving old militarist who is genuinely fond of him. He has met this state of mind before and he knows how to deal with it—a little tact and kindness and the prevention of any showdown. But the other agents of the ruling class are not so gentle. Owen's aunt has control of his money so she leaves him penniless until he is willing to conform. She is herself a living embodiment of the tragedy of war—her sweetheart was killed in the Indian Mutiny, she has been faithful to his memory, and to her embittered old maidenhood Owen's refusal seems only an intolerable weakness that degrades everything of any significance in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

her life. She represents the economic pressure as Owen's instructor represents the educational. But there is still another wire to be pulled. Owen's girl is a bold and direct young woman who is somehow dependent on the maiden aunt. In fact, this is pretty dirty stuff for James, for he presents love as doing the bidding of economics in the most coarse and forthright way imaginable. The relationship between the girl and the old maid is mysterious, a matter of almost Proustian "unfathomable deeps," but whether it is half-perverse, or merely seems that way to an inexperienced soldier innocent of woman's ways, James does not make clear. In any case, Owen's girl humiliates him, provokes a quarrel between him and his friend and shamelessly plays up to a brother officer who has developed no such scruples as those that harass Owen.

This seems to me to show a social observation almost as acute as that of Stendhal. But the pressure these people exert comes from the living, and Owen's fiercest enemies are the dead. It is the past that weighs on him most heavily and that eventually kills him: the violent, war-filled, tradition-laden past, the past that says there will always be war because there has always been war, the past represented by his aunt's dead love, by his memories of his dead father, by the insults of his fire-eating old grandfather, by the portraits of his warrior ancestors that seem to heave at him from the walls. So "Owen Wingrave" gets to be a kind of intellectual atrocity story, with the boy's mind pulled to pieces by his friends and well wishers until, through some supernatural agency, the past embodied in a family ghost kills him. This happens in one of those prisonlike country houses James liked to describe, a bleak place that gave people the creeps and where, among the apprehensive guests, topics of conversation huddled together like uneasy animals before a storm.

However the supernatural vengeance, the stilted speech of the characters and the inconclusive ending temper the chill reality of the story, "Owen Wingrave" is a study of the mechanics of social control, made palatable by being written as a ghost story—this is the way it works, James says, the way the wires of love, family feeling, money, friendship or terror are pulled to kill or coerce those who challenge the basic demands of their class. Nor is "Owen Wingrave" so far-fetched either in its account of the hero's naïve rebellion or in the measures taken to suppress it: Siegfried Sassoon, during the War, seems to have acted in much the same way when he demanded to be court-martialed for his disloyalty, and to have been brought to what was left of his senses by just such ingenious and varied pressure.

II

But the impressive aspect of James's little story is the mood that produced it. How can we account for a novelist, in the years before the War, inspired to turn out such a tale from the simple and normal sight of a young man reading a book? Only by assuming that his imagination had been darkened by warnings and premonitions of what such peaceful scenes meant, and of how the peaceful pre-war world, of which they were a fundamental part, would eventually end. An uneasiness about the way life was going, confused glimpses of the cultivated insensitivity and brutality of ruling-class life, knowledge that these impressions were adding up to some concrete and inescapable conclusion about the future of the society he knew—all this gave him, in this one story, a prophetic quickening of the imagination akin to the involuntary shudders that people are supposed to experience when someone walks over their future graves.

Conflict was impending, and although he did not know it in any reasoned and calculated way, still he sensed its coming from a thousand casual and accidental observations that the ordinary life of his time and class offered up for his inspection, little things, insignificant in themselves, but taking on depth and meaning if you stared at them closely and linked them to other aspects of the same life that bred them. There was no immediate connection between the sight of a young man reading a book and the menace of war—and yet on closer observation it appeared that there was a deep and decisive connection; that the mere taste for reading would be bound to bring any young man into latent or active opposition with the fundamentally thoughtless forces of professional militarism, that these forces themselves had their roots deep in the past and so exerted on the present an influence that no citizen could avoid, that, in short, wherever you looked, if only in Kensington Gardens on a midsummer afternoon, you found intimations of inescapable conflict at the very heart of society.

But there were few such intimations heard so plainly as this one—and indeed the abrupt ending of "Owen Wingrave," with the story not so much concluded as suddenly lopped off, is proof that while James's imagination enabled him to plumb deeply into the secrets of the life around him, it drew back, almost as if in panic, at the vision of depths still lower. He could see the motives of his rebel clearly; he had no illusions about the ruthlessness with which he would be met; but what happened then, or how it worked out, or what could be done—before these problems he threw up his hands and called on the supernatural to get him out of his mess. Yet he seems to have known what he was evading. In the first year of the War he wrote to Howard Sturgis:

> I think the great public blackness most of all makes me want to send out this signal to you . . . for it's vain to speak as if one weren't living in a nightmare of the deepest dye. The plunge of civilization into this abyss of blood and horror . . . so gives away the whole long age during which we have supposed the world to be, with whatever abatement, gradually bettering, that to have to take it all now for what the treacherous years were really making for and *meaning* is too tragic for any words.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now it seemed to him that that period of peace, of motor trips, of pleasant May and June afternoons, of visits and voyages, was "disconnected and fabulous, fatuous, fantastic, belonging to another life and another planet." There should have been some different view of it, more searching and less easily satisfied; there should have been sharper observation and clearer understanding, stronger warnings and more careful investigations; then, perhaps, the War would not have seemed "this unspeakable giveaway of the whole fool's paradise of our past—this is what we were so fondly working for!"

In the great public blackness, while he wrote his incoherent tirades against the Huns, he was haunted by the realization that he had misread the signs and been deceived by the surfaces of the society he had studied—this Elizabethean curtain of blood and darkness was its climax, and he only regretted that he had not died before the curtain fell, so he would not have known how completely he had been taken in, and how fatuous his labors were. All connection with everything before the War seemed to have been broken off in a night. Nothing that had ever happened, he said, in the depths of a despair that negated his own works, seemed to have the slightest consequence in relation to what was going on. Life no longer appeared in its sequences, but in shattered and disconnected fragments—if there had been periods of peace and happiness, periods when it seemed that the world was, with whatever abatement, gradually bettering, it meant only that they were periods of horrible fatuity, making possible these periods of horrible slaughter.

By the logic of his own way of looking at life, no such crisis as the War could take place without its signs and rehearsals. It did not suddenly break—it had been built up, out of millions of actions and inactions, planned and prepared for, made possible by the passivity of some as much as by the ruthlessness of others. All through the years of peace there must have been one plain foresight of it after another, not only in the political structure of the society but in the very character of its inhabitants—there must have been angrier words than he had heard, more fierce determinations than he could imagine, more passionate stupidities abroad in the world than he could dream of, merely to make possible a solution so incompatible with the world he had known and described. He admitted it plainly enough: He had been writing about the wrong things, getting the little dramas and missing the big one, misinterpreting, misjudging, misreading and misleading until now history had canceled out his work—all connection with everything, he said, has been broken off in a night—and by absorbing the illusions of his time and class he had to that extent aided the vast public anesthesia that made possible the vast public darkness.

It did not serve for him, any more than it served for Marx, to say that society had been taken by surprise, for he would have accepted the axiom that neither a nation nor a woman can be forgiven for the unguarded hour in which a chance comer has seized the opportunity for an act of rape. All through the years of peace the War had been in the making—how often, then, its premonitory signs must have clamored to be noticed! Like the characters in his own novels who stand by, deaf as posts, while the great chances of their lives, their great loves, great adventures, great contributions, call to them vainly—like the poor devil in "The Beast in the Jungle" who realized too late that he had not noticed the one thing that could give his days any meaning—so James understood before he died that he had missed the biggest drama of them all.

III

He tried to shut out the War and set himself to finish "The Ivory Tower," but it proved impossible, as Percy Lubbock has said, "to believe any longer in a modern fiction, supposed to represent the life of the day, which the great catastrophe so belied." The implication was obvious; history had become the most savage critic of his work. A true representation of a society or of a class is a revelation of its future, and if his pictures of the society he knew best had been true no such development as this could have taken him so completely by surprise or left him at such a loss in facing it and trying to understand it. He had had intimations—as his letters and stories like "Owen Wingrave" prove—of what was in store for the world he knew; he sensed that so much savagery and thoughtlessness in the world at peace must inevitably add up to a general conclusion; but such intimations had never been the central concern of his fiction. Despite his positive convictions about the forces that would be lined up against the Owen Wingraves, he had still felt that the world was, with whatever abatement, gradually bettering—and the accretion of decisions based on that hope led him to his final helpless anguish.

To this extent every writer must set himself up as a prophet. It is no part of his task to attempt to conceive the exact sequence of coming events, but his general picture must square with the literal living history of his time, and his dramas—the motives he ascribes to people, the potentialities he sees in them—must line up with the actual conduct of masses as it becomes known in times of crisis. There is an absolute symmetry between the great works of fiction and the great upheavals, involving masses acting together, that are the historical landmarks of the period in which they were written. You could not anticipate the revolution of 1848 from a reading of the novels of Stendhal and Balzac, but on the other hand there is no collision between their representations of French society and the revolution that was in the making during their lifetimes; there is nothing incompatible in what they ascribe to the citizens of different classes and what we know of the actual behavior of those different classes at a moment when their struggle had come into the open.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In this sense history demonstrates the truth or falsity of their dramas, by forcing forever into the background—or preventing the completion of—the works whose value a "great catastrophe so belied."

It was by this standard that Lenin analyzed the pre-revolutionary novels of Tolstoy and called them a mirror to the revolution that occurred after they were written. He showed that Tolstoy's general portrait of the Russian peasantry—the class Tolstoy consciously identified himself with—was proved and justified in the revolution of 1905. In that crisis in their class life the peasants revealed themselves as confused and uncertain, as Tolstoy had pictured them. Multiplied in the millions who rose, confusion and uncertainty meant in terms of action a fitful and spasmodic revolutionary initiative, bold attacks abandoned at the point of success, opportunities missed, retreats before phantasmal oppositions. The wretchedness of their daily lives, of which Tolstoy had been so acutely aware, drove them to action, but since they had no clear concept of their social aims, a limitation Tolstoy shared with them, their action was wasteful and incomplete. Lenin was at pains to point out how even Tolstoy's powerful observation was distorted by his failure to understand what was happening within the industrial working class that was eventually to provide strength and leadership to the peasantry; but above all he established the relation between the truth of Tolstoy's teeming composite picture and its later confirmation in events.

For whether he wills it or not, a novelist is bound to be a barometer of social change, registering in his work the all-but-imperceptible variations in the social pressure and the changes in the fortunes of the class with which, consciously or unconsciously, he identifies himself. The miniature world of his fiction is not only a representation of the social environment he observes around him. It is also his implicit judgment of what the future holds in store for the social equivalents of the types he creates, and an infallible revelation of his outlook on the future of the class to which he is tied. It is his task to isolate and lift into consciousness the invisible connectives between the little things of daily living within the normal life of that class—between the sight of a young man reading and the menace of war, or between the sight of conflict between a peasant and his master and the threat of revolution —and the great upheavals of the past and the volcanic upheavals of the future; to dramatize and make concrete the secret ties between the routine happenings of the common life and the sweep of historical movements. This is the primary function of fiction and criticism. Only when it has been realized can we become steadily conscious of the potential significance of our lives, and be made to see that the minute coral atoms of our acts are inevitably building the structure of history. When it is evaded the end is as it was with James—the catastrophes and surprises of life so "belie" the imagination's products as to force them out of the mind and prevent their being written at all.

ROBERT CANTWELL.

Recent Medical Progress

MEDICAL progress is not geared to the mainspring of time. It does not move forward with the even pace of the clock hands. It jumps, unpredictably, at its own fitting time of ripeness. To measure medical progress by the current calendar is to yield to human frailty which splits indivisible time into arbitrary units. Besides, what is medical progress? At best it is a historical judgment, valid only in retrospection. Contemporary judgment is notoriously fallible. The contemporaries of Semmelweis scorned him and his ideas on the infectious nature of childbed fever. Those of Robert Koch believed as he did that tuberculin was a positive cure for tuberculosis. Shall we consider *that* progress which brings us back to Hippocratic thought, largely neglected for two thousand years, and which teaches us, as in the treatment of coronary occlusion, to depend upon and to foster the self-healing powers of the body, the *vis medicatrix naturae?*

But the human mind is largely a mensurating instrument, and there is a something to be gained in orientation, by the attempt to take stock of progress made from time to time. Nor is the effort hazardous, if we pursue it in the spirit and with the reservations expressed by Sir Thomas Browne in his "Religio Medici": "All that is contained therein is in submission unto maturer discernments; and as I have declared, shall no further father them than the best and learned judgments shall authorize them."

HEART SURGERY

The importance of heart disease as a cause of death can readily be overemphasized. Since men must die eventually, the less likely they are to die of other diseases, the more likely they are to die of heart disease. Not the gross number of deaths, therefore, but the age at death, is significant. And even more significant are the invalidism and the sickness caused by heart disease.

Rheumatic fever, syphilis and the degenerative processes, among the latter notably arteriosclerosis, are the principal causes of heart disease. In rheumatic fever little progress has been made. Against the ravages of syphilis there has of late been

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

launched a nationwide campaign to bring larger numbers of those infected under treatment. The degenerative diseases remain unresolved as to specific causes and as to effective means for their control.

Two notable advances in dealing with certain forms of heart disease deserve mention. One of these is surgical, and involves operating upon the heart in order to establish new supplies of blood for its musculature. The other advance is medical in nature, and centers about the treatment of coronary occlusion, *i.e.,* blockage of the arteries feeding the musculature of the heart.

The heart is attached to the body by the walls of the great vessels leading to and away from it. Otherwise the heart has no direct continuity with the surrounding tissues. This suspended isolation of the heart deprives it of the means to establish new channels of blood circulation when its own fail. In the leg, for example, should a large artery become blocked, other vessels enlarge to take over the circulation. But such compensatory circulation cannot be established normally when a major artery of the heart is occluded. Such accidents usually result in the death of the victim. When the heart arteries become narrowed so as appreciably to reduce the blood flowing through them, the condition of angina pectoris is likely to result. Physical and emotional strains then cause the sufferer excruciating pain.

In quest of a remedy of these conditions, Dr. Claude S. Beck, of the Western Reserve University School of Medicine, Cleveland, Ohio, undertook in 1923 a study of the surgical possibilities presented by the heart. The heart, be it noted, had been, for reasons we cannot detail here, the *terra incognita* of surgery. But in the thirteen years of his devotion to the problem, Dr. Beck has advanced heart surgery to the point where it is now possible to operate upon the heart without exposing the patient to undue risks.

The suturing of stab wounds, the removal of scar-tissue bands which bind and embarrass the heart, and the removal of the adhering and restricting pericardium, are now well established surgical procedures. The most novel advance, however, lies in the technique developed by Dr. Beck for implanting muscle strands derived from the breast musculature into the heart. This operation affords the heart new blood channels to compensate for its own failing circulation.

The original studies were of necessity made on experimental animals. In February, 1936, there was published the record of seven such operations on human subjects. In his report Dr. Beck stated: "It required something of the heroic spirit for the first patient to submit to this operation on the heart, an operation that had never before been done on a human being. For this reason I wish to mention the name of the patient, Joseph Krchmar of Chardon, Ohio." This patient was a farm laborer of forty-eight, who had typical substernal (under the breastbone) pain on effort, of two years' duration. He was finally obliged to give up his work. Eight months after his operation his tolerance for exercise is good. He is employed about the hospital as a gardener, and he is able to perform his work without pain or discomfort.

The operation in substance consists of the following steps. A portion of the inferior pectoral (breast muscle) four inches wide and four inches long is dissected free from the chest wall and is cut at the end away from the breastbone. The other end is left attached at its sternal margin. The cartilages attaching the fourth, fifth and sixth ribs to the breastbone are then removed. The entire procedure is repeated on the opposite side. The pericardium covering of the heart is opened and the portion adhering to the heart muscle is stripped away. The free ends of the breast muscles are split each into two parts, and these are fixed to the heart on the left and right sides. These grafts do not appear to embarrass the heart in its movements.

Dr. Beck concluded his report with the statement: "The experimental results and the results obtained in the patients to date make me believe that coronary sclerosis will be treated in the future by operation. If this proves correct, we will have succeeded in opening up a new field in surgery."

The Rest and Starvation Treatment of Coronary Thrombosis

Coronary thrombosis (the formation of blood clots within the blood vessels of the heart) is a disease that takes its toll from the ranks of the active business, administrative and professional men during the most productive decades of their lives. Almost two-thirds of the victims of this condition suffer their initial attack before the age of sixty; one-third of all the cases fall within the ten-year period of fifty and sixty.

The mortality rate from this condition is variously estimated as ranging from 35 to 65 percent. Recent studies on the medical management of coronary-artery thrombosis suggest not only that the mortality rate can be reduced, but also that recovery from consequent heart damage may be furthered.

The regimen followed in this treatment consists of prompt diagnosis and the assumption, when in doubt, that the case is one of coronary occlusion. Complete and absolute rest in bed, with adequate nursing for from four to ten weeks is exacted. Resumption of activity, beginning with sitting up in bed, is allowed only when the cardiac condition warrants it. The patient is allowed no, or only very little, food during the first twenty-four to seventy hours. Fluid intake is restricted to 1,200 c.c. Subsequently and during the period of treatment the dietary intake is restricted to within 750 or 850 calories.

This form of treatment, it is reported, has yielded a lower mortality rate in "first attack" cases, relieved the great majority of cases of pain after the first two days of treatment, and favored the regeneration of the cardiac damage.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Protamine Insulin

Diabetes is a major disease. Its prevalence has mounted continuously during the last seventy years, and it promises to continue increasing as our population ages. In New York City the death rate for diabetes in 1866 was 2.1 per 100,000 population. By 1932 it had risen to 29.2 per 100,000. It must be remembered, however, that this really reflects the incidence of diabetes and not the deaths from disease, since, according to our present mode of registration, nearly all persons who have diabetes are reported on the death certificate as having succumbed to this ailment.

Since diabetes is not a reportable disease, it is not known just how many persons suffer from it. However, it is estimated that in New York City, the population of which is approximately 7,000,000, there are 100,000 diabetics.

Until 1923 there was no specific treatment for diabetes. Therapy consisted chiefly of dietary restrictions, in the limitation of food intake, notably of starches and sugars. Thirteen years ago, following its discovery by Banting and Best, insulin, a substance derived from the pancreas of animals, was introduced into the treatment of diabetes. This marked one of the most outstanding achievements of modern medicine. Insulin has enabled the diabetic to round out his normal life expectancy. Diabetic individuals, no matter how severely they are afflicted, can control their disease and live a normal life, both in regard to their health and their activities, if they will use insulin under intelligent guidance and yield to the necessity for its use to accomplish the utilization of sugar necessary to maintain life, which nature has denied them.

Insulin has been described as a physiologic crutch. More fittingly it can be called replacement therapy. By injecting insulin into the body of the diabetic (the only effective way in which it can be administered) the deficiency of insulin secretion by the diabetic's pancreas is overcome. But, the process is unfortunately annoying and troublesome, and only remotely approximates normal pancreatic secretion. While some diabetics can manage their condition by dietary restrictions alone, most of them require from two to four insulin injections each day.

When insulin is injected it is quickly absorbed by the blood. In consequence blood sugar is promptly lowered. This gives rise at times to unpleasant subjective symptoms. An overdose of insulin is quite likely to throw the patient into shock, which, unless treated promptly by the ingestion of sugar, may cause his death.

For many years, therefore, scientists have attempted to produce a form of insulin which would act over a longer period and enable the diabetic to limit the number of his injections to one a day and also to make it possible for the diabetic to administer his insulin independently of an immediate meal.

It remained for Professor H. C. Hagedorn of Denmark to achieve this much sought-for goal. He combined a basic protein of the most simple composition derived from the spermatozoa of fish, called protamine, with insulin. When this combination is injected, the body is enabled to utilize its sugars more evenly and for a longer period of time. The blood-sugar content therefore does not swing from extreme to extreme, but can be maintained at a level more approximate to the normal.

Recently another modification has been put forward. It has been found that with the addition of zinc to the protamine-insulin combination the action of the material can be extended to twenty-four hours. This bids fair to be a revolutionary change from the first insulin used from 1923 to the present time, because now it will be possible to control every case of diabetes with only one injection a day. This means a great deal of liberty to thousands of persons, since they can use their hypodermic in the morning and then be free to follow out their usual occupations and their habits of eating without any irksome restrictions whatsoever. When the discomfort and the nervous strain of two to four hypodermic injections at definite times, followed within a certain period by an allotted amount of food, are taken into consideration, it is apparent that the discovery of Professor Hagedorn will prove to be a boon to thousands of persons throughout the civilized world.

Protamine insulin has been under careful clinical supervision for some time, and is now commercially available.

Fever Therapy

The beneficent effects of fever were known to Hippocrates, and it is alleged that the Roman peasants voluntarily exposed themselves to marsh fevers (malaria) in order to be freed of the great pox, *i. e.*, syphilis.

The modern utilization of fever therapy is credited to Wagner Jaurreg, who in 1918 successfully treated dementia paralytica by deliberately inoculating the sufferer with the organisms of malaria. Subsequently it was shown that only the resulting fever, and not the presence of the malarial plasmodium, effected the desired results. Hence fever therapy is now preferably administered by physical-thermal means.

The results of fever therapy were so good in the treatment of syphilis of the central nervous system that quite naturally it was tried on a wide variety of other pathologic conditions. To date the one other signal attainment of fever therapy is in the treatment of the second venereal infection, namely, gonorrhea, and its complications. Gonorrheal arthritis and gonorrheal infection of the female pelvis yield promptly to fever therapy. The results are most gratifying in the second of these complications, which in the past has been responsible for much suffering and sterility, and which necessitated much surgical work.

Those deep in this work envisage the possibility

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of blotting out the plague of gonorrhea within a decade or so by means of fever therapy.

Less firmly established but promising is the combination of fever therapy with standard medicinal treatment of early cases of syphilis infection. One of the obstacles to effective syphilis treatment has been its long duration. Preliminary reports indicate that by using fever therapy as an adjuvant to standard treatment it may be possible to "cure" early syphilitic infection in six weeks' time.

Fever therapy has also yielded most encouraging results in the treatment of chorea, or St. Vitus' dance. From several clinics it has been reported that this form of treatment reduced the average duration of mild attacks from twenty-seven days to six days. Moderate cases previously running average attacks of forty-four days' duration when treated with fever have been shortened to eight and one-half days. Chorea is frequently associated with rheumatic disease of the heart. In one study it was observed that the active disease process involving the heart was favorably influenced by the fever therapy administered for the coexisting chorea.

Fever therapy has also been applied beneficially in the treatment of asthma, in multiple sclerosis (a disease of the central nervous system) and in dementia praecox, or schizophrenia.

Insulin Shock Treatment of Dementia Praecox

If this form of therapy stands up under the critical tests to which it is now being subjected, it will beyond all question prove the most noteworthy medical advance made during the last decade. At the present time, however, it can only be accepted conditionally.

Dementia praecox, or as it is frequently called, schizophrenia, is one of the major psychoses. It is characterized by "a mental deterioration tending to progress, though frequently interrupted by remissions." The cause of the disease is unknown. Its treatment has been largely symptomatic and reëducational. Very many of the cases spend most of their lives in hospitals.

At the present the condition is being treated by insulin shock. Extraordinary claims have been made for its effectiveness. First developed in Vienna and Switzerland, it is now being tried in this country.

Before describing the treatment it may be interesting to note that the "shock idea" is not new in psychotherapy. Indeed, certain of the cruelties practised in time past on the insane were justified by the conviction that the sufferers could be "shocked" back to sanity.

The insulin-shock treatment of dementia praecox was empirically developed by Dr. M. Sakel, who originally employed insulin in the management of the withdrawal symptoms in morphine addicts. Overdoses of insulin unavoidably administered to these sufferers threw them into shock. When they were brought out of shock by the administration of carbohydrates, Dr. Sakel observed that many of them had lost their motor excitement. This suggested the idea of deliberately administering large doses of insulin to various types of schizophrenics. The treatment as developed begins with the injection of moderate doses of insulin. Then the dosage is increased daily for six days in the week until the patient is thrown into hypoglycemic shock and coma. He is brought out of shock by the intravenous injection of glucose. There is no specific limit as to the number of shocks the individual may be given. The number will largely depend upon the progress witnessed in the patient. Some have received as many as forty and more shock treatments. The end results in the successful cases are witnessed in the reorientation of the patient, and in the strengthening of his ego to enable him both better to appreciate and more adequately to meet the difficulties that confront him.

The rationale of this treatment remains undefined. The results are apparently evident, but how they are attained is still under discussion. Sakel argues along biochemical lines and in terms of specific effects of the injected insulin on the cells of the nervous system. Others lean to the psychologic explanations, toward the shocking effects of the rapid deprivation of the organism of its sugar and the consequent anxiety which stimulates the "will to live."

Whichever the explanation may be, and they are not mutually exclusive, *if* the "80-percent cure," or even less, is corroborated by further experience, insulin-shock therapy will prove a great medical event, one likely to be far reaching in its effects upon psychotherapy in general.

Prontosil

Medicine can boast of but few specific remedies, and save for the antitoxic sera, most of these are chemotherapies, that is, natural or artificially produced chemical agents. Two important ones were derived from the medicine lore of primitive races. These are quinine, known to the Indians of Peru, and ipecac, used as a remedy for amebic dysentery by the natives of Brazil. Practically all the others are products of the modern science of chemotherapy. This science was founded by Paul Ehrlich, the inventor of salvarsan (606), an arsenic-containing compound employed in the treatment of syphilis.

Chemotherapy has for its aim the destruction of germs invading the living body by means of chemical agents which, while noxious to the invaders, will not injure the host. Unquestionably salvarsan represents the greatest triumph of chemotherapy witnessed to date. But chemotherapy has to its credit other noteworthy attainments such as plasmochin, employed against malaria, chaulmoogra-oil derivatives used in the treatment of leprosy, and tryparsamide, utilized against African sleeping sickness.

Strangely the "specifics" developed thus far by chemotherapy have proved effective only against microörganisms of a protozoan nature, that is,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against unicellular organisms low in the animal kingdom (except leprosy). Most of the common disease organisms, and especially those responsible for blood infections, are bacteria, that is, unicellular organisms low in the vegetable kingdom. Against these chemotherapy has not as yet been able to produce a "sterilizer" suitable for use within the body. Numerous compounds have been suggested and tried, but either they proved too toxic for internal use or else they have been found too weak and uncertain in their effects. And yet, one of the early observations of Ehrlich pointed to the germicidal, selective effects of certain aniline dyes, which could be injected into the blood stream without undue risk. Theoretically nothing seemed more reasonable than to expect that sooner or later a deliberately produced, carefully checked chemical compound could be created wherewith to destroy bacteria present within the body, without injury to it.

Precisely such is the claim made for prontosil. This compound is essentially a red crystalline dye, of a very complex chemical structure. It was synthesized by Mietzsch and Klarer in 1932. Tested on animals it was found to be non-toxic even when injected in doses far in excess of therapeutic requirements. It also proved markedly destructive to streptococci, and to a lesser degree to staphylococci present within the body. It can be administered by injection and by mouth. The European, especially German, medical literature reports its effective utilization in a variety of conditions such as septic sore throat, erysipelas and kidney infections. In England the drug has been tried mainly in the treatment of puerperal infections, that is, infections associated with childbirth. After fourteen months of experimentation highly encouraging reports were published, and The (London) Lancet editorially stated: "The fact remains that the curative action of prontosil and sulphonamide (a derivative of prontosil) is now explained as a directly bactericidal one, and at a time when successive disappointments with a score of antiseptics had led most people to conclude that the disinfection of the blood stream in septicemia is by nature a complete impossibility, we can now rejoice that this result has been unmistakably secured" (December 5, 1936). Most recent medical literature indicates the possibilities of even more extensive application of prontosil. Thus, it has been effectively used to treat streptococcal meningitis, and also in the treatment of gonorrheal infections.

It is as yet too early to pass final judgment on the full value of prontosil. But it is promising. If it proves truly as effective as it seems to be, then prontosil, or its subsequently modified forms, will mark another great triumph of modern medicine.

IAGO GALDSTON.

For Al Smith

DEAR Governor Smith: I hope you do not mind if I continue to address you as "Governor." It is the title by which you have been best known to me and thousands of others, the title you bore during what was undoubtedly the happiest and most successful period of your life.

I was interested to read in the papers of your trip abroad, including a visit to Italy and an audience with the Pope. I admit I was somewhat surprised to learn that one of your projects was to report to His Holiness about the menace of communism in this country. I am just wondering how much reliable information one can gather on this subject from an office high in the Empire State Building. My purpose in writing this letter, however, is to suggest that the most useful service you could render your church would be to abandon the task of reporting on an almost completely imaginary communist menace, and come home at once to participate in a far more urgent task. That task is to prevent a serious religious conflict in this country, of which there are at present some ominous signs. If such a conflict comes, it will be primarily because of the present policies of the Catholic Church, and that church will be the chief sufferer.

I feel it is legitimate to appeal to you in this situation, for several reasons. You are without doubt the outstanding layman of your church in this country. In 1928, millions of persons, of whom I was one, voted for you for President on your solemn assurance, made in your article in The Atlantic Monthly and elsewhere, that a Catholic was under no obligation incompatible with the oath of office of the Chief Executive. The events of recent years, and particularly of the past few months, throw a startling backward light upon those assertions of yours. We are beginning to see in this country the emergence of what may fairly be called a Catholic "line" in politics, something that might easily be the forerunner of a Catholic party such as has long existed in many parts of Europe. We see members of the Church acting, in local, national and international affairs, not as Americans but as Catholic Americans. We see the Catholic press supporting these policies with a unanimity and blind fervor that are disconcerting in the extreme. These activities go far beyond an attempt to say what devout Catholics should or should not do. They are an attempt to dictate what all Americans, whatever their faith or lack of it, should or should not do.

This line and these policies seem to me dangerous in the extreme from Catholicism's own point of view. Your church constitutes only a minority in this country—certainly less than one-third. If it invites

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the sort of division between Catholic and non-Catholic that we have seen in other countries, it will also invite the unhappy results that have there been produced.

It is quite possible that I may know more about the latent virulence of anti-Catholicism in the United States than you do, Governor. I grew up in a part of the country and at a time when men still talked of the American Protective Association as a living reality. As a journalist, during the early twenties I made a long tour through the South and West investigating the Ku Klux Klan when that body was at its height. It was a terrifying experience to see how much passionate anti-Catholic bigotry there was, and how close to the surface. The KKK is now almost extinct, but its three million former members are not, nor the tens of millions more who sympathized with its anti-Catholicism though they did not choose to pay its monthly assessments or wear the sheet and pillowslip. It is a frightful mistake for the Catholic Church deliberately to embark upon a course that may bring forth the KKK sentiment again, and make it worse than before, by presenting it with legitimate grievances instead of the old, hysterical nonsense about "rifles buried under the Catholic Church" and "the steamer waiting to bring the Pope to Washington."

What is the Church doing that may bring forth a return of such emotion? Space permits me only the barest summary, but since these things are all a matter of public record, perhaps this is enough.

The Church has instituted a control of the arts which is in every case as complete as it can be made. This would be less objectionable if it applied to the Catholic population only, but never does it do so. Despite all denials, there is now a Catholic censorship that applies, in advance of production, to every motion picture made in America. The Catholic-inspired censorship of plays, novels and other works of art in Boston in particular has made that city a subject for derision among intelligent people around the world. The Catholic Church was mainly responsible for the recent attempt to create a one-man dictatorship over the New York theatre. In pointing these things out I am not, of course, arguing for complete license or defending the vendors of smut for smut's sake. Every one of these censorships has been applied on top of adequate existing law to deal with obscenity. Every one of them is an attempt to impose on the whole nation, not even the standards of the best Catholics but of a peculiarly humorless and unpolished small segment, no better—and no worse—than the censor-minded Protestants.

Another matter in regard to which there is a Catholic line and an attempt to apply it to everyone, is voluntary parenthood. Some years ago, the Church in America abandoned its previous opposition to birth control, perhaps because of the painfully conspicuous fact that the birth rate among the Catholics was declining even more rapidly than among non-Catholics of the same position in the social scale. The Church, however, for reasons it has never explained to anyone's satisfaction but its own, turned its back on all competent medical experience and advice and went in for the so-called "Rhythm." Only a week or two ago The Journal of the American Medical Association again summarized the facts on this matter, undisputed among reputable scientists. There is a "safe period" in the woman's menstrual cycle, but a highly unreliable one and so brief that it is perfectly useless, practically speaking, as a check upon pregnancy. The Church, however, clings to this fallacious technique in the face of perfected, genuine birth-control methods now accepted by medicine. It is disturbing that we should see developing "Catholic science," "Catholic medicine," paralleling the "Nazi science" at which the whole world has laughed. Science with an adjective before it is not science. Meanwhile, the Church continues to fight every effort to break down the obstructive federal and state laws which still force many thousands of people to have children they don't want and for whom they cannot adequately care. The latest sad chapter in this melancholy history came last week when church spokesmen announced they would fight the new-found liberalism of the AMA on this subject.

Nowhere has Catholic politics shown to worse advantage than in the fight against the proposed child-labor amendment to the Constitution. The pretext has been the fear that under the amendment as written, the parochial schools might suffer: a pretext whose absurdity needs no underlining. In state after state, the Church has fought this proposal, often with success. It may be only a coincidence, though an unhappy one, that some of the Catholic Cardinals have been on terms of the greatest possible amity with wealthy owners of mills and factories who are also fighting the amendment, for reasons of their own. Double honor should be accorded to those few brave priests and laymen who have had the courage to oppose the official church line in this matter.

In foreign affairs, the Church has also had a line. For several years, there were determined and incessant efforts to embroil the United States with Mexico on the ground that that country had been hostile to the Church. It has often been charged that American Catholics contributed large sums to attempted counter-revolutions in Mexico. I have no knowledge of the truth of these charges; but I am convinced, as many other people are, that if the church propaganda had succeeded in creating hostility between the two countries, the results would have been tragic, and particularly so for the Mexican Church. It is no longer news that wiser heads in the Vatican, with centuries of experience behind them, share this opinion.

Nothing in the history of the American Catholic Church becomes it so little as its intervention in the present Spanish war. Here again, there is reason to believe that the American Church has run far ahead of the more cautious and wider view of the Vatican.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Otherwise, we should never see the amazing present spectacle of church newspapers and clerical and lay spokesmen defending the actions of German airplane bombers who killed Basque Catholic women and children—and this at a time when Germany is persecuting the Catholic Church by every means at its command. When a mass meeting was held the other day in New York to raise money for the Spanish fascists, one of the speakers, the Reverend Bernard Grimley, editor of The (London) Catholic Times, made a little joke. He referred, so the press reported, to the Spanish "women and children who seem always to be getting in the way of the bombs of the other side." Dr. Grimley's sense of humor differs from mine; and I even wonder if this light-hearted reference to slaughter seemed very funny to the Holy Father, whose eyes filled with tears when he spoke the other day to Catholic refugees from that same Germany whose aerial bombing seemed so comic to Dr. Grimley.

The American Catholics defend their support of the Spanish fascists by saying that the choice is between them and communism, that the communists are atheists and must therefore be destroyed. This charge has been disproved so often that I shall not waste words discussing it here. Those minds that still accept it are closed, I know, to any argument of mine. But even if it were true, what then? Do the American Catholics really believe that what has happened to the primitive, half-savage Greek Catholic Church in Soviet Russia is any worse than what is happening to the modernized and on the whole liberalized Roman Catholic Church in Germany? Have they forgotten the period of almost a decade when Mussolini fought the Church in Italy, coming to terms at last only when he decided he needed help against other enemies still more important and menacing? Do they feel that the way to better the lot of the Basque Catholics is to shoot them down, men, women and children, with the aid of German atheists and Moorish Mohammedans?

You, Governor Smith, are a man of the world, salted with the wisdom of long experience. You are surely aware that the Catholic Church in every country takes on a coloration from the life of that country. You must realize that Catholicism in democratic America is very different from that of feudal, landlord-and-priest-ridden Spain. You must be conscious that the Church in Spain was engaged in a conspiracy against the masses of the Spanish people, working with the landlords and the army to keep the people poor and oppressed. One can see why these three possessors of special privilege dislike the threat to take the whips from their hands, and therefore fight to preserve the old order; but it is hard to understand why the free Catholics of the United States should want to help them.

It is the fashion now for the American Catholics, whose hysterical emotion strongly suggests an unconscious impulse of guilt, to quote the famous Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII in favor of the toiling masses, in which he said substantially that we ought to have socialism but ought to call it something else. Many spokesmen for the Church apparently feel that if at regular intervals they demand higher wages and improved conditions for the poor, in general, they have done their full duty. But you and I know, Governor, that generalized denunciations are feared by no man. It is only when you get down to cases and begin to demand better conditions for a particular group of people at a particular moment that the shoe begins to pinch.

The coincidence begins to look a little too pat that over and over again, when we come down to actuality, the Church (with the usual few and honorable exceptions) is found in the trench of the enemy, helping him reload his rifle. This is particularly illustrated by the great anti-communism campaign of the Church in America at the present time. The fervid chant of "down with the Reds" that now rises from so many Catholic pulpits throughout the land begins to look singularly like a means of escaping into a dream world of unreality and thereby avoiding a painful present fight. You yourself, Governor, have shown many times that you are aware of the truth endorsed by all sensible men, that there is no serious danger of a communist revolution in this country. There is a hundred times more danger from the rear-guard action of the black conservatives.

I respectfully suggest that it is now time for the Catholic Church in America to do some one thing, take some one line, of which all decent liberal men and women can approve regardless of their religion or lack of it. Almost anything would do. I suggest that it is time to drop the ridiculous alliance with the professional patriots. Something should be done and done promptly to destroy the impression that Catholicism is now willing to become the official religion of a slave state. There is no other matter to which the best brains, the ablest personalities of the Church—among which, Governor, you are certainly included—could be better devoted.

BRUCE BLIVEN.

Summer Noon

The choral voice of children rips the still,
Bursting the plaited silence on the hill
Where the mute closeted intimated rabbit
Perks his exclamatory ears. The mole
Finds the hot sun all red and thick and bloody
Over his eyelids, sticking to his skin.
And the shining fish in the residue waters
Gleams as he passes for a moment like a stripe
On a black tin sheet with the sides all yellow
Where buttercups and daisies flounder and fight.
Noon heat simmers on the slate rock sides
Of cliffs in the distance. Down in the grass
The tawdry legs of little blistered sunbeams pass.
And the marsh out of habit is thawing out its wet
Under a cat-tail parapet.

ELIZABETH JANE ASTLEY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Notes

The NLRB Marks Time—Illinois Is Not Pennsylvania—Assaying Our Gold Policy—The South Gets into Battle Array

SINCE the onset of the strike against the Republic, Youngstown Sheet and Tube and Inland steel companies, the National Labor Relations Board has had to suffer uninformed criticism from both within and without the government. Less than two months ago—the detractors say—the Board's powers were confirmed in a handsome set of decisions by the Supreme Court. Yet now the country is plunged into a strike that has already brought about a massacre in South Chicago as bloody and unforgivable as anything that happened in Ethiopia, or is happening in Spain. Where is the NLRB—the detractors ask—and its touted system of industrial peace? As these Notes are written, it seems probable that the Board will soon be able to intervene in the strike against the Inland company.

It is unnecessary to say, I trust, that the Board is wholly blameless for what has so far occurred. It cannot act until it has first been appealed to by representatives of the workers, and Mr. Murray and his co-leaders of the SWOC did not ask its aid when the present strike was called. It would be wrong to imply that the officials of the NLRB feel any pique or hostility; the Board's members are men of remarkable wisdom and public spirit, and completely without bureaucratic jealousies. Nevertheless, my guess is that they would have greatly liked to show what they could do with their new authority.

Such labor experts as I have been able to consult here sympathize with the NLRB's disappointment, but tend to believe that Mr. Murray and his associates chose rightly in depending on labor's own strength. This is not because of any doubt concerning the NLRB's competence. They think that the NLRB would have been able to compel an honest election in the Republic, Youngstown Sheet and Tube and Inland mills. They believe that, with the possible exception of the Republic's plants in the South, the SWOC would have obtained a clear majority of the workers. Finally, they believe that the NLRB would have ultimately been able to make the companies bargain fairly.

But they point out that the situation presented in the present strike is basically different from that of Jones and Laughlin, where, a month ago, the NLRB held speedy, well guarded elections that resulted in a great SWOC victory. The Jones and Laughlin management—partly because its principal mills were in Pennsylvania, where Governor Earle is an aggressive partisan of unionism—had no stomach for a last-ditch fight. The management gave public assurances that, if the union won, it would negotiate in good faith, and accept a binding agreement. In the present strike, on the other hand, Mr. Tom Girdler of Republic declared that he would never make a union agreement, no matter how many elections were held, nor how often the union won. From a legal standpoint, Mr. Girdler was unquestionably talking through his elegant straw hat. If, after an NLRB election, he had failed to show good faith in bargaining with the SWOC, he would have been in contempt of the handiest federal circuit court, and probably could have been jailed. Practically, however, Mr. Girdler's words constituted a very real, dangerous form of intimidation. Workers were able to walk into the Jones and Laughlin polling booths with the feeling that, once the election was over, the SWOC would have power to protect them. They were able to vote freely, according to their convictions. But voting here, they would have had fears of being spied on by company stool-pigeons and outside detectives, and fears of being beaten up on their way back to their homes. The experts think that, if an election had been held in the Republic mills, the SWOC would almost certainly have won, but they are wholly agreed that it would not have been a fair or honest election, and represented a hazard that Mr. Murray and his associates were justified in refusing.

All this, however, does not mean there is anything faulty in the NLRB's legal authority, or that it will be unable to enforce impartial elections in the future. In the opinion of the experts, the present strike is a special case, on which no judgments should be based. The time will come very rapidly, they think, when anti-union threats like those uttered by Mr. Girdler will be laughed at by the workers and the public. But the present strike comes too soon after the Supreme Court's confirmation of the NLRB's powers. Mr. Girdler's boastings—together with his more practical measures of mobilizing spies, armed guards and airplane transports—have weight with workers who as yet understand very dimly the new rights of industrial democracy that the law has given them.

Among the representatives of financial interests in Washington, there is no more breathless subject than gold. A fresh rumor that Mr. Roosevelt is, or is not, to reduce the price of gold is set adrift whenever two or more of them meet for lunch. Members of the administration, however, seem finally to have reached a state of genuine boredom about gold. It is freely admitted that a world flight from gold into dollars is in progress; that great private hoards in Europe are being liquidated, and that, before the movement ends, it is conceivable we may find ourselves with a billion dollars' worth more on our hands. But officials lackadaisically say there is no intention of attempting to halt this flood either by changes in the gold price, or in any other way. Suppose, they say, there should be a threat of war comparable to that of December, 1936, when the Germans were supposed to be landing regular troops in Morocco, or of a year ago, when Hitler marched into the Rhineland. Such a threat might start a billion in gold, or two billions, or even more, rolling toward America, and it would not matter whether our price for gold was $35 an ounce, or half that, or double it. Officials are in something the position of Alice, who grew nine feet tall with one bite of cake, and shrank to a few inches with the next bite. Under such conditions, planning ahead for emergencies hardly seems worth while. Meantime, the Treasury and the Federal Reserve seem proud of the existing gold-sterilization program. They cheerfully agree that it is costing money, but insist that the protection it gives the national price level makes it cheap nevertheless. Senators from the Rocky Mountain gold-mining states are reported to have received an administration promise that there will be no change in our gold policy for months, probably years, to come.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The expected Southern opposition to Mr. Roosevelt's wages-and-hours bill is already beginning to take form, and there are signs that oppositionists mean to trade votes with the senatorial bloc fighting the reorganization of the Supreme Court. But the most dangerous threat to the bill is that which has sprung up behind the demand of Representative Connery that tariff provisions be included. He is being backed by all textile manufacturers, North and South, with semi-obsolete, high-cost mills, who either cannot, or will not, raise their present sweatshop wages without a guarantee that they will be able to pass on the whole of the added cost, and a little more, to the consumer.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Things Are Seldom What They Seem—The Prince and the Paupers—Low-Cost Housing Makes No Headway Fast

THERE are times, I fear, when there is very little left for a man to do but to sink down weakly and admit freely that he is baffled. After a man has lived a sufficient number of years he falls into the habit of associating certain definite ideas with certain words. If, for instance, he hears a man say that the government is shamefully extravagant and that he, the speaker, proposes that the government shall economize, he falls naturally into the conclusion that this person is an economizer, that is, one who believes in guarding the public monies. If a few moments later he sees this same fellow squandering those same public monies, he is naturally a little puzzled. But if he finds that day after day, and year after year, men go on uttering opinions and proposals and then behaving according to entirely different principles, his puzzlement deepens into complete confusion.

The reason for his bewilderment, of course, is his innocence. Machiavelli, instructing his Prince, says that "it is unnecessary for a prince to have all the good qualities I have enumerated, but it is necessary to appear to have them." And this is the key to the seeming confusion in our modern democratic state, where there are so many persons and groups of persons to be satisfied. It is unnecessary to agree with all these groups, but it is very necessary to appear to agree with them. And similarly the astute Florentine said: "I consider that a Prince ought to cherish the nobles, but not so as to make himself hated by the people."

In a republic a prince or a premier or a president ought to cherish the boards of trade, but not so as to make himself hated by the CIO. He ought to cultivate the good opinions of the lenders but not so as to make himself suspect by the borrowers. He ought to make love offstage to the politicians but not so as to bring down upon his head the wrath of the populace and, to bring this to a head, he ought to earn the gratitude of the landlords, but not so as to make himself hated by the dispossessed tenants. If he can stand with one arm around the stout shoulder of the marshal with the dispossess warrant and another fraternal elbow crooked around the neck of the evicted tenants weeping over their belongings on the sidewalk and make both feel he is their friend, then he may be acclaimed a wise prince.

Which brings us to the business of housing and my own bafflement. When a man tells me he is for housing, and for low-cost housing at that, I am disposed to interpret this as meaning that he is for housing. I am inclined to forget that there are people who are not for housing and that after a fashion their good opinion is as important to the Prince, or nearly so, as the good opinion of those who ardently desire housing. And this betrays me into overlooking the simple human phenomenon that the man who tells me he is for housing may mean by that that he is not for housing. After a year or two or four of this, if one is sufficiently naïve and generally abandoned to the sloppy habit of accepting words in their ordinary meanings, one is apt to get himself bogged down in endless misunderstandings.

Now take the case of our own sapient Prince. He is for housing. As it happens I am for housing too, and so are a large number of persons who are loosely grouped together as progressives. I know my Prince is for housing because he has said so many times. Indeed, whenever things have seemed a little dark for him and my progressive companions have seemed disposed to murmur against him, he always ups and says boldly that he is for housing. And my progressive companions are all very much like myself—simple-hearted persons who take the English language quite literally.

But there is no doubting our sagacious Prince. Because he has actually named a Housing Coördinator—one who will see that all the multitudinous housing energies of the government are focused on the great objective. I know that suspicious persons will insist that after four years in time and seventeen billions in money there is no housing. But this is just a piece of stark realism and our Prince is a romantic. Which brings us to the Housing Coördinator himself. In fact this brings us to what I am driving at.

In The New York Times recently appeared a long letter signed by five eminent gentlemen. They were lamenting the corrosive effect of municipal taxes upon one of the most cherished assets of our greatest city. And what do you think this cherished asset is? The slums. For the last few years what do you think has been happening? The calamity must be faced bravely. People have been moving out of the slums. "The lower East Side of Manhattan," sighs this gloomy document, "is a dramatic example. It is that portion of Manhattan lying south of Fourteenth Street to James Street and east of the Bowery to the river. In this district, where 531,000 people made their homes in 1910, the records show 220,000 people live today." This is the area which is so dark a stain upon the civilization of America that you will have to go to the Orient to find its equal as a slum. The writers of this letter weep over the dark fact that a quarter of a million people fled from these pestilential holes. If these people were still there languishing in these caverns of disease and sin all would be well. The tragedy of this, apparently, is that through the sheer corruptive processes of chemistry slum clearance has proceeded much faster than we supposed.

It is in fact more terrible than appears in this melancholy story of depressed realty values. Homes have been built on the outskirts of the town. The city has built roads, subways, schools, fire and police houses in pleasanter places to enable people to flee from the slums. All this brings comfort to the people to be sure. "But the gains are outweighed by the destruction of more valuable and useful real estate at our centers." And so, according to these five signers, it is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time the city should quit providing the people who have escaped from the slums to the suburbs with roads and schools and fire protection in order to conserve the more valuable real-estate values in the slums.

And now, who do you suppose is one of the five signers of this enlightened document? Who, think you, is one of the five progressive thinkers who is weeping over this process of natural slum clearance? Why no other than the President's own special adviser on housing. To add to the obfuscation at this point, who do you think has been the President's special adviser on housing during these four years of housing crop failures? Who but the former president and representative of the most virulent enemy of low-cost government housing, the New York Real Estate Board? The President says he is for government housing. When you go to Washington you find a former head of the greatest enemy of housing acting as the President's special adviser on housing. Also you find that low-cost housing goes the way of the little pigs. You ask yourself—is the President really for housing? You have to end by admitting that Machiavelli was right.

And now for a prophecy. There is a Wagner bill for housing before Congress. Whether it will pass or not I do not know. I merely know that there is going to be no low-cost housing, at least not under this Prince.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

First Convention

"THE IMPORTANT thing," Miss Jane Cowl said, in this, the shortest speech of all, "is to keep this thing that was handed down to us from the Greeks and before that—*going*. Bless you."

The news is that during the first week in June the First Convention of the Legitimate Theatre, sponsored by the American Theatre Council, assembled at the Astor Hotel—"The Heart of Times Square," which in turn is the Heart of the Show Business, as everyone knows. The attendance was remarkable, all sorts of people from the theatre, something like a thousand of them. The subject for discussion was the present state of the American theatre.

By chance I was not able to attend the meeting, which lasted in and out of four days; but the general reports are clear. Miss Helen Hayes in her welcoming address said that, whatever the defects of our present theatre, one encouraging fact remains: "The demand for drama throughout the country today exceeds the available supply." You may take that or leave it, there is a large supply of plays, though a good many of them were written in past epochs. Miss Hayes' remarks, however, held good, since one of the two chief points left for consideration was that many of the more promising playwrights are in Hollywood, and the other that producers are in need of more plays.

Mr. Brock Pemberton asked why must we let the critics in, which is not entirely like Job; and Mr. John Anderson said that whenever the theatre likes its critics it will be dead, which is neat enough. Certain statistics then appeared. For instance, this season has produced six plays less than last, and thirty plays less than the season before that. Compared to 1935-36 the average life of a Broadway production was 48.2 performances against 58.7. And taking as a "hit" any show that runs to 100 performances or over, there were nine less than last season. The world was reminded, what with one piece of information and another, that we had this season the Drama Critics' Circle's choice for the prize, "High Tor," and the Pulitzer Prize play, "You Can't Take It with You," and "Johnny Johnson," "Excursion," and so on, not to say "Marching Song," to which the Writers' Congress awarded the prize vote—not that all these plays are of equal worth; and we were asked to shudder at the lack of competition for such past presentations as "Journey's End," "What Price Glory?" "Broadway," "Cradle Song," "Strange Interlude," "Grand Hotel," and so on. There remain then for the First Lesson Hollywood gulping all down, for the Second Lesson, Broadway calling for more.

Taking the .2 of that 48.2, I may say that I thought there were certain moments in the performance of "Johnny Johnson" that promised more for the theatre than any of "Journey's End"—imported from England after all; and that "Cradle Song" is there in Spanish or English waiting to be revived, along with hundreds of other plays, at any time—which does not fit into that Second Lesson. "What Price Glory?" had a life of its own, partly its two dramatists' great gifts, partly the moment just then to be expressed. "Grand Hotel" as an episodic foreign melodrama, full of character-scenery, was all very well; but "Boy Meets Girl"—though not of this one season only—seems to me to have fifty times more life and point any way you take it. "Strange Interlude," for all its inequalities and its final slipping, was Eugene O'Neill; and it goes without saying that his intensity of approach and his fine stage torment are not on the same plane with anything now being written in our theatre. As to the comparative hits and non-hits, I am not worried over that, though I might be if I were in the show business. And so I come back to Miss Cowl's remark. No one could ever say of her that whenever she has had the directing control of a play, there was any lack of professional integrity behind it. She meant now graciously to say, I take it, that the theatre was close to life and therefore deathless, which is at the same time one of its chief assets and perils; and that it was going on anyway, as life goes on, and so we might as well see to it that we keep ourselves going as a part of it, in sum keep it *going* as a part of ourselves.

And so the speeches went on, one theatre person after another presenting cause, for alarm, or horror, or the righting of some wrong, and thus on and on until you think of what was said of the hydra and Pisander the poet, that he multiplied its number of heads "to make the monster more terrific and to add to the dignity of his own verses." Out of it all one clear thing definitely emerged. Mr. Sidney Howard, president of the Dramatists' Guild, announced that Mr. John Golden, the producer, had offered five fellowships at $1,000 each, to subsidize playwrights; and later the promise of more fellowships was announced.

So far so good. Playwrights will, as the case may be, find themselves thus encouraged to write for the legitimate theatre, to live within it when they get there, or to do something on Broadway that will make an opening for the devouring, profitable Hollywood. There are two points here.

The first is that a theatre to be healthy and promising must express to a very considerable extent the life of the people to whom it belongs. In this respect it might be worth

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

while to throw a monkey wrench into the works by saying that a part of the American drama's trouble is New York. The audience, the judge, the final arbiter, as to a play's merits or appeal rests in New York, which is not America—but that's a discussion in itself. Even so, much of the best of New York does not touch the theatre. American life, in its essentials and fulness, the theatre does not express, not even the language of it, much less its elusive depths, colors, traditions, tones and patterns.

The second point is that even if its theatre expresses a country, that theatre's value will depend on what is to be expressed, what focus is to be found, what social conception there is to interpret. Leaving out the rest of the nations, for better or for worse, we may say that for us at the moment Hollywood seems to express (and sell) pretty much what is wanted and what, moreover, is not so very far below the average Broadway ambition and mentality. In this connection it might be a comfort to note that whole epochs and whole nations—the Roman Empire for example—never found an expression in drama; that the great drama of Greece lasted but a few generations, and that during its course the Athenian State arranged to pay for some of the citizens' attendance.

Incidentally, there have for some time been many plays in the world that bear revival, if we could only do without idle expense, popular luxury, long runs and striking twelve every pop. Nor need we forget the French proverb that if a man has nothing to say let him say it. STARK YOUNG.

Notes from Hollywood

I AM WORKING for B. P. Schulberg. I don't think Schulberg will mind this. If he does, he'll fire me. He'll fire me anyway, so this won't make much difference. It's all in fun, no hard feelings. My salary is $300 per week. Ten percent of this goes to Geller, my agent. Geller is a good agent. He got me this job in three days. I wired him from San Francisco to get me a job in a hurry and two days later he wired me that Schulberg would pay me $300 a week, on a week-to-week basis. That afternoon at five o'clock I took a plane from San Francisco and two hours later I got out in Hollywood. The following morning I went to work.

That was Friday, October 9.

Ever since that day I have been jotting down ideas and other things on slips of paper, and forgetting them.

This evening I discovered that they deserve to be remembered.

I mean, historians will be very much interested.

These are some of the notes. Many of the better ones have been lost. The order is not chronological.

Merry Xmas:
a gay warm-hearted swift-moving light-spirited thing.

Standard Oil	$65.00
June	50.00
Packard	211.75
Aben Kandel	101.00
Gelber & Lilienthal	235.00
Stanley Rose	30.00
Albert Bender	210.00
M. L.	100.00
W. G.	50.00
Misc.	300.00
Total	
Additional debts:	
Random House	$525.00
Dr. H. F.	125.00
GRAND TOTAL	

Character: dynamic young
"Talk about trouble? It's right here in black and white. (Newspaper.) Spain. My God, the world's going to hell. Give me a beer."
etc.
Sits around no specific relation to story
Telephone Margaret
R C A Victor
$50. $5. down.
the tragedy of Mike's disease and the unsuccessful operation is nullified, cheapened and made ridiculous by his mother's talk about selling pencils, getting justice and going to court: there must be
Goodbye Forever.
William Saroyan.
S.
Saroyan.
Saroyan.
get haircut
knock knock
On the Proper Care & Feeding of Geniuses.
A Guy Named Joe: a story.
there is an absence of vigor, spirit,
energy: on the one hand
the people are dull
an idea for Sylvia Sidney & Fe
an idea for Sylvia Sidney & Fred MacMurray
boy meets girl; boy klklklklklklkl
tooth brush & paste
comb
type paper
$5,000.
easy
Formula for Movie:
Unemployed girl in big city spends last twenty dollars for clothes and dinner in fashionable hotel restaurant where wealthy boy while drunk

And so forth. It's all in fun, of course.

WILLIAM SAROYAN.

Editors' Note

In view of the startlingly frank, not to say somnambulistic, nature of Mr. Saroyan's article, it may be legitimate to append here the comments made by various members of The New Republic staff when it was being read around the office prior to acceptance:

Shall we print this? It is typical Saroyan, on his more exhibitionistic side. Hardly seems to me worth using. Does anyone agree?—B. B.

Strikes me as mildly funny and I think we might squeeze it in.—M. C.

Interesting. It's a wonder he didn't paste bits of his underwear and socks here and there on the pages.—O. F.

Spinach by any other name would not sell so well.—T. R. C.

I have a bunch of random jottings I'll give you for nothing.—E. H.

Red hot. Big news value; mentions Spain.—J. B.

Oh, let's print it.—G. S.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Bandwagon

Your expressed attitude to the bombing of Guernica by the Spanish Nationalists or their friends is a little naïve is it not? . . . In these days of logical viewpoints the destruction of civilians is in order. I personally think it is both salutary and suitable. It gives the common people a sense of responsibility and broadens the outlook of the survivors on world affairs.—*From a letter written to The (Anglican) Church Times by A. Scott-Gatty, of the Savage Club.*

There is one misconception that the people should guard against. Neither resignation nor any other act of a Justice or the Court is to be looked on as a surrender. The court can neither surrender nor attack. That is not its function.—*Mark Sullivan, in his syndicated column.*

Magistrate J. Brown . . . dismissed a reckless-driving charge when a motorist whose car was allegedly describing an irregular course claimed he was not the driver because the car's engine was off and the car coasting.—*From a news dispatch from Toronto, Canada, published in The Los Angeles, Calif., Evening News.*

AREN'T YOU TAKING A LOT FOR GRANTED?

If, for the past two decades, these house organs had been steadily educating organized labor on the moral, legal and human rights of private ownership as conceived by the Founding Fathers and defined in the Constitution; if organized labor had understood, as a result of such education, the futility of any "half-managed" economy; if they had realized that strike-enforced wage increases without price control are useless; if they had known that by their sit-down strikes they were deliberately inviting socialism and fascism, it is more than probable that the present threat to law and order in this country would not have occurred.—*From an article in the magazine, Public Relations.*

MAKE UP YOUR MIND

Communists must be taken seriously, for they hold most of the key positions in the city government. . . . The $9,000,000 a month spent on relief is being used to build up the Communist Party. . . . Anyone who advocates the overthrow of the United States government should be locked up for treason.—*From a report in The New York Times of an address by George U. Harvey, president of the Borough of Queens.*

DISTINGUISHED-FAILURES DEPARTMENT

Father Duffy denounced Karl Marx as a capitalist who used his doctrine of communism as a means to gain an end. —*From a news item in The New York Herald Tribune reporting an address by the Reverend Peter Duffy of the Franciscan Order.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic.—THE EDITORS.

CORRESPONDENCE

A Native-Born Alien

SIR: Rudolf Rui is a Brooklyn boy, born there thirty-two years ago, as the records of the Health Department show. He lived a very ordinary life and was never arrested or suspected of wrongdoing. His name is known only to a score of friends and acquaintances. His obscurity would have continued except that suddenly the United States State Department decided, when Rui asked for a passport to visit his parents, that he was not an American at all, but an Italian.

Rui never asked to be an Italian, although his father, a naturalized American citizen, took Rudolf to Italy when he was only three years old. In fact, Rudolf registered in Italy as an American citizen and the Italian government issued him a residence certificate as a national of the United States.

At twenty-one Rui started to return to this country, and was finally issued a passport on the instruction of the State Department. He has lived and voted here since 1928. Assuming that Rui's father lost his citizenship by long continued residence in his native land, Italy, the State Department was wrong when it wrote the son that he had lost his citizenship by reason of "his *reacquisition* of Italian nationality," for it overlooked the fact that he had never had such nationality in the first place. Under pressure the Department again reversed itself and finally granted Rui a passport because his father's Italian nationality was not voluntarily established until five years after the son had left Italy.

The State Department, despite its technical ruling in the Rui case, explained that there was no change in its general position that American-born citizens might become aliens through loss of citizenship by their parents. Thus it is willing to turn over, and has frequently in the past turned over, persons born in the United States who, under the federal Constitution, are citizens of this country, to foreign countries where they may even be impressed for military service in time of war against this country.

New York City. CAROL KING.

Mr. Ford and the Deutches Museum

SIR: In his article "Mr. Ford Collects" in The New Republic of April 28, Bruce Bliven states: "I don't suppose Mr. Ford ever heard of the Deutches Museum in Munich."

That supposition is not correct. Mr. Ford is known to have met Dr. Osker von Miller, the founder of the Deutches Museum, and to have given a million marks toward the building of the museum.

Willmar, Minn. NINA DRAXTEN.

Not a Right-Wing Communist

SIR: In your issue of June 16, in the section headed "Contributors," you carry what is intended to be a biographical note characterizing me as a "right-wing communist." In so doing, you have unwittingly borrowed a false factional epithet from political opponents.

I have been a Communist since the founding of the Communist Party of the United States, to which I contributed. In so far as it had Right tendencies in it, neither I nor the Ruthenberg-Lovestone group with which I was associated were ever connected with them. We were expelled in 1929 for: (1) insisting on the maintenance of party democracy, (2) for opposing union-splitting, (3) for favoring a working-class united front at a time when it was officially decreed that all but Communists were to be regarded as "social fascists"; (4) for opposing the mechanical carrying over of the same tactics to all lands without regard to the special conditions in each country.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As the Communist Party was then adopting ultra-leftist tactics and preferred not to meet us on the above issues, it labeled us "right-wingers, counter-revolutionists, and agents of American imperialism." In other countries it found similar delightful names for our tendency. But it has since swung over to right-wing tactics of collaboration cabinets, united fronts with capitalist parties on the latter's terms, "People's Fronts," support of war loans in non-fascist imperialist lands. Our stand is now denounced as "ultra-leftist." What happens to the label "right-wing" when the Comintern has made a 180-degree turn and we criticize it from the Left?

Next time you publish anything by me, please say "member of the Independent Communist Labor League," or of "the International Communist Opposition."

New York City. BERTRAM D. WOLFE.

Washington Calling Mitchell

SIR: If there were no other proof, the letter columns of The New Republic would be convincing evidence of the futility of the arguments in which authors and book reviewers occasionally indulge. I must, however, dissent from the "thesis," the "moral," which Jonathan Mitchell so gratuitously ascribes to me in his recent review of my book, "Washington Calling" [The New Republic, June 2].

In presenting a picture of Southern democracy in Washington I represented in one character, as a kind of accidental survival, certain values now comparatively rare; notably integrity and forthrightness. The character in whom these qualities survive is, I had thought, quite clearly delineated as unaware of the industrial revolution that has taken place in the South and because of his ignorance of the political implications of industrialism in the South totally unable to effect any change whatsoever in a given situation. How Mr. Mitchell concluded from this that my "thesis" was the need for more "Virginia gentlemen" in Washington I am at a loss to understand. It seems to me a grossly unfair assumption, for, Mr. Mitchell to the contrary, I am not naïve enough to believe that present-day problems can be solved by evoking the virtues of the past, however admirable those virtues may seem. What I sought to suggest, in a book of very modest scope, was that sterner disciplines are required if we are to preserve even the outward forms of democracy.

Washington, D. C. MARQUIS W. CHILDS.

SIR: I enjoyed Mr. Childs's book very much; I am sorry to have displeased him. Nevertheless, I do not think that what I said was gratuitous. Surely it will be agreed that a writer chooses characters that, for whatever reason, interest him. Mr. Childs, seeking the qualities of integrity and forthrightness, together with the sterner disciplines, in contemporary Washington, invented the character of an aged Southern agrarian. Mr. Childs might as easily have found those qualities in certain of the labor-union leaders and left-wing Congressmen who form a considerable part of the Washington scene. The fact that, instead, he chose to lavish his interest and affection on a character embodying the Virginian tradition, it seems to me, tells something about Mr. Childs and his book, and it is proper subject of comment.

JONATHAN MITCHELL.

Washington, D. D.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Ted Olson's article on the "throwaway" advertising newspapers in our issue of June 3 drew comment from several readers. Frank A. Sieverman Jr., of New York City, thinks that in many cases newspapers brought disaster upon themselves by insisting upon such long contracts at such high rates that business houses were unable to sign and turned to the giveaway sheets. R. C. O'Brien, of New York City, thinks the radio is a far more serious and insidious competitor of the newspapers than the throwaways, while Mrs. Hugh B. Reed, of Morristown, New Jersey, looks for a day when it will be possible to have newspapers without any advertising at all. She says "We could then get our ads in reliable publications such as those of Consumers' Union and know what we are buying."

Bertrand de Jouvenel, writing from Paris, proclaims himself a member of the executive committee of the Doriot group. He says his group is trying to form an anti-communist coalition and denies the assertion of George Seldes in our issue of May 12 that the fascist parties in France are planning an armed uprising against the Popular Front government of Léon Blum. He insists they hope to get power through the ballot.

Harold S. Buttenheim, as chairman, announces to us the formation of a Citizens' Housing Council of New York City, in which it is hoped to unite the personnel and activities of groups actively working for better housing. . . . Houghton Mifflin Company of Boston send us an announcement of the award of their two $1,000 fellowships for 1937. One goes to David Cornel DeJong of New York City, whose project under way is a long novel dealing with life among the fishermen of Holland, and the other goes to Mrs. Dorothy Baker of El Cerrito, California, who is working on a novel detailing the rise and fall of a swing musician. . . . A collection of Spanish loyalist war posters, on sale for the benefit of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, has been placed on exhibition at the Twentieth Century Association, 3 Joy Street, Boston.

Campbell G. Murphy, writing from International House at the University of Chicago, points out our error in an editorial paragraph in the issue of June 2 referring to Miss Grace Abbott as Dean of the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago. The actual Dean is, of course, her sister, Miss Edith Abbott, who made the speech upon which we commented. Miss Grace Abbott, for many years chief of the U.S. Children's Bureau, is now a member of the faculty of the School of Social Service Administration.

The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy announces a debate to be held in New York City between Michael Williams, editor of The Commonweal, Catholic weekly, and Leland Stowe of The New York Herald Tribune. The subject is: "Resolved: that Spain is ruled by a legitimate, constitutional and democratic government deserving the moral and financial support of democratic America." The exact time and the place will be announced later.

What's on the Air?

President Harold W. Dodds delivers the baccalaureate address at Princeton University. Sunday, June 20, 11 A.M. to 12 noon, NBC-Blue Network.

"Red-Head Baker," a play by Albert Maltz dealing with the reformatory problem, is presented by the Columbia Workshop under the direction of Irving Reis. Sunday, June 20, 7 to 7:30 P.M., CBS.

Reports from the Institute of Human Relations, whose sessions at Rockford, Illinois, are woven around the central theme, "Minorities in a Democracy," are given on Monday, June 21, 4:30 to 5 P.M., and on Thursday, June 24, 8 to 8:15 P.M., over the NBC-Blue Network.

Miss Grace Abbott, professor of Public Welfare at the University of Chicago, speaks from Geneva, Switzerland, as America's delegate in summing up the work of the Twenty-third International Labor Conference. Tuesday, June 22, 6:15 to 6:30 P.M., NBC-Blue Network.

Delegates to the national convention of the American Library Association in New York report on some of the current projects of libraries and librarians. Wednesday, June 23, 2:30 to 2:45 P.M., NBC-Red Network.

Governor Frank Murphy of Michigan gives his views on "Labor Trends and Industrial Problems." Wednesday, June 23, 10:45 P.M., CBS.

Among the commercially sponsored programs of the week are Margaret Speaks as soloist with a symphony orchestra directed by Alfred Wallenstein, Monday, June 21, 8:30 to 9 P.M., NBC-Red Network; and immediately following it at 9 P.M. over on the Columbia Broadcasting System, Leslie Howard enacting the title role in a radio version of Booth Tarkington's "Monsieur Beaucaire."

All times given are Eastern Daylight Saving Time.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Summer Book Section

Prize-Winning Blank Verse

THERE is perhaps not much point at this time and in this place of writing a depreciation, merely for the sake of a depreciation, of the plays of Mr. Maxwell Anderson.[1] Mr. Anderson is by no means pretentious about his work. It is the donors of the Pulitzer Prize, who gave a prize to "Both Your Houses," and the members of the Drama Critics' Circle, who have twice in succession chosen plays of his for their award, that have made his plays appear pretentious. And Mr. Stark Young has already in these pages discussed the various productions of Mr. Anderson's plays and dealt admirably with their literary as well as with their theatrical qualities. Furthermore, I see that Mr. V. F. Calverton and Mr. George Jean Nathan have chosen this moment to light into him. However, I have something to say about Mr. Anderson's aims in general which nobody seems yet to have said. So here goes!

Toward the end of the season last year, when "Winterset" had been covering itself with glory, I went around to see what I understood from the reports of it I had heard to be a great American poetic drama on the theme of Sacco and Vanzetti. What I was confronted with when I got into the theatre was a belated and disembodied shadow of the productions, so unpopular in their day—universally neglected by the critics—of the old New Playwrights' Theatre in Grove Street. There were the Jews out of Em Jo Basshe's "The Centuries," the street scene, with its agitators and policemen, out of Dos Passos's "Airways," and a general influence of the open-air stages of John Howard Lawson. During the first act, I became quite interested, as it seemed to me that the writers of the New Playwrights might have founded a school, after all, and that Mr. Anderson might have improved on his originals. But as "Winterset" went on, I was baffled at discovering that the New Playwrights' characters were expressing themselves in blank verse of a hypnotic monotony and in conventional poetic imagery of a dispiriting banality and flatness. And the revolutionary social content had been extracted from the New Playwrights entirely. "Winterset" was indeed the wonderful new coffee which enables you to sleep like a child. I did, in fact, fall asleep during the last act, and was only awakened by somebody's firing a gun. All the characters were now being bumped off. But I couldn't care a bit about stage fictions who talked Mr. Anderson's blank verse. Indeed, the satisfaction which I derived from the wholesale Elizabethean ending was due to the fact that it relieved Mr. Anderson from the necessity of making the effort to write poetry.

Afterwards, I got the text and read it to find out what I had missed. But the play seemed to me even feebler than it had when I had seen it on the stage. The production had invested some of the scenes with something like imagination. But in the text I was unable to detect anything which seemed authentic as characterization, emotion or idea. Taking the theme of the after-effects on persons involved in it of such a tragedy as that of Sacco and Vanzetti, Mr. Anderson makes the son of an anarchist father, executed for another's crime, fall in love with the sister of the real criminal, whom he has devoted his life to pursuing. The young man gives up his revenge, sparing the girl's brother and allowing himself to fall into the hands of the gang. Miriamne has come to represent to him "all hope and beauty and brightness drawn Across what's black and mean"; he wishes to emerge from "this everglades of old revenge" and "forget to hate," perhaps at last to forgive. But it is too late. The gangsters kill them both. The old Talmudic Jewish father closes the play by announcing the "masterless might" of the universe, and declaring that only the human "cry toward something dim In distance, which is higher than I am" makes man the "emperor of the endless dark even in seeking."

> this is the glory of earth-born men and women,
> not to cringe, never to yield, but standing,
> take defeat implacable and defiant,
> die unsubmitting.

But what is the point of this? Mr. Anderson's hero, Mio, has just given up his life's purpose. In what sense is his defeat "implacable and defiant"? He is supposed to be the son of an anarchist, a class-conscious victim of class war: he would scarcely have regarded the exposure of the real culprit and the vindication of his father's innocence as merely a matter of private revenge. Yet Mr. Anderson makes him succumb to his interest in a little girl whose supposed sweetness of character manifests itself in speeches that sound as if they had been written under the influence of a favorite English teacher and published in the school magazine by a young daughter of the bourgeoisie; and then gives him a valedictory—not particularly characteristic, by the way, of the mentality of a Talmudic Jew—appropriate to some Promethean champion of the human intellect and will.

Lately I have been reading—not having seen them—"The Masque of Kings" and "High Tor," and they make upon me the same impression of mediocrity and pointlessness. The protagonist of "The Masque of Kings" gives up his revolutionary purpose just as Mio gives up his revenge; the protagonist of "High Tor" gives up the noble stand he has taken against the vandalism of industrial development. Mr. Anderson's heroes are always resigning: they become disillusioned with their own designs before instead of after they have realized them, and this makes his dramas rather disappointing. There is never any real fight. When everything is over, some character phrases the thought *"Sic transit gloria mundi!"* in more or less hackneyed terms, and Mr. Anderson calls it a day.

For the rest, Mr. Young has analyzed these plays as much as it is profitable or possible to do, and he has even, I feel, sometimes been led by skillful production and acting to give them a little more credit than they deserve. He is quite kindly about "High Tor," which seems to me—among

[1] Winterset, by Maxwell Anderson. Washington, D. C.: Anderson House. 146 pages. $2.50.
High Tor, by Maxwell Anderson. Washington, D. C.: Anderson House. 148 pages. $2.50.
The Masque of Kings, by Maxwell Anderson. Washington, D. C.: Anderson House. 140 pages. $2.50.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plays to be considered as making some serious appeal to the imagination—one of the silliest I have ever read. I agree with Mr. Young when he says that some of the special bursts of Mr. Anderson's poetic eloquence "sound like a Stephen Phillips version of an Arthur Symons translation of a decadent German versifying of a lax translation of Euripides."

And yet Mr. Maxwell Anderson is not really all so bad as that. The point is that in his verse he is at his worst. The prose parts of his plays are not nearly so bad. And in the days when he wrote in prose altogether—in "What Price Glory?" and in that hobo play made from Jim Tully's "Beggars of Life"—he showed a gift for vernacular dialogue much richer and more original than anything that has appeared in his verse.

Yet Mr. Anderson has a positive conviction that it is in verse that plays ought to be written. He has explained in his preface to "Winterset." "Those," he says, "who have read their literary history carefully know that now is the time for our native amusements to be transformed into a national art of power and beauty. It needs the touch of a great poet to make the transformation, a poet comparable to Aeschylus in Greece and Marlowe in England. Without at least one such we shall never have a great theatre in this country, and he must come soon, for these chances don't endure forever.

"I must add, lest I be misunderstood, that I have not mistaken myself for this impending phenomenon. I have made my living as teacher, journalist and playwright and have only that skill as a poet which may come from long practice of an art I have loved and studied and cannot let alone."

But here, I believe, is where Mr. Anderson is mistaken. It is true that verse has been passing out as a technique for writing plays; but is it true that it is really needed? After all, verse technique has also passed out in all sorts of other departments of literature to which no one would now think of restoring it. In the last century it was still used for novels; in the eighteenth century, for essays. Before that, in the ancient world, it was used for science, history, works on agriculture, prophecies and laws. Whatever the reasons for its falling into disuse, it is undeniable today that pure verse technique has come to be employed—and is almost never otherwise effectively employed—in a narrow and specialized field: that of lyric poetry. The modern writers who come closest to the great writers of poetic epics and the great dramatic poets of the past—the Flauberts and Tolstoys and Ibsens—have invariably written prose. At most, there is a blending with prose of something of the technique of verse: in certain writers one can see the transition quite clearly. For example, the narrative poems of Robinson Jeffers show a tendency to disintegrate into prose; and the prose novels of James Joyce contain vestiges of the rhythms of verse. Isn't it true that if Synge and O'Neill, of whom Mr. Anderson speaks, had lived in Otway's time, they would have written their plays in verse? And is Mr. Anderson prepared to assert that the plays of Molière, for example, which, through an accident purely chronological, happen partly to be written in verse, would be the worse for being written in prose? The mere literary technique itself is not the issue here: the technique is determined by the rhythms of speech, and it changes with these rhythms, which in turn are determined by the pace of life and, fundamentally, by man's relation to his environment, which changes from age to age. One sees this very plainly in Ibsen, who began by writing plays in verse and who, his countrymen tell us, was a great verse master, but who, outgrowing the influence of the romantic era, became a great master of prose. Does Mr. Anderson consider that "Hedda Gabler" and "The Wild Duck" are less great then "Peer Gynt" and "Brand," or that they could conceivably have been written in verse? And what could be more synthetic and specious than the costume dramas of Rostand, the chief practitioner of the modern poetic drama?

Mr. Anderson, it seems to me, in his own plays has given the most striking confirmation of the obsolescence of verse technique. He is capable of writing well—in prose, and when he is close to real American speech. But in these recent plays he writes badly. I do not mean that he is technically incompetent; but he writes badly because English blank verse no longer has any relation whatever to the language or tempo of our lives, and because, as soon as he tries to use it, he has no vehicle for his genuine gifts of dialogue—he has no resources but a flavorless imagery which was growing trite in our grandfathers' time. When Mr. Anderson makes an effort to combine blank verse with the language of everyday speech, he gets something, as in "Winterset," which is neither, and dreadful. (It is true that T. S. Eliot, in "Murder in the Cathedral," has done better with the verse drama than Mr. Anderson; but, to my mind, the best scenes in this play are the prose ones: the sermon and the speech of the assassins.)

I am inclined to believe, furthermore, that it is this unhappy infatuation with blank verse which has aborted Mr. Anderson's talents all around. Along with the rhythm goes not only the imagery, but the attitude, the point of view. Instead of any sort of sentiments which any real people might conceivably feel today in connection with the events he depicts, the commentators in Mr. Anderson's plays can only proffer the dimmest imitations of the sentiments of the Elizabetheans and Greeks in connection with events of quite a different character. A technique should grow out of the material: and Mr. Anderson is trying to impose an old technique which has nothing to do with his material. Instead of getting deeper into reality as he develops, he is carried by his blank verse farther away.

EDMUND WILSON.

Approach

The hosiery salesman walking up the hill
Holds out for mercy and receives it not,
Perceiving at the top against his will
How flat the blocks ahead are and how hot.

How from porch to porch and hedge to hedge
In neo-Spanish neatness of design
There is a long perspective of arch and edge,
Of roof and step, and little out of line.

These doors will close to his toe, one like the rest,
The cool interiors be black to his sight,
No eager discourse on what silk is best
Will sound in his ears right.

How shall a man proceed among the noises
Of scooters, rakes and babies on the lawn
When the sober Spanish doors and the cool voices
Reject all small familiars but their own?

JOSEPHINE MILES.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Announced for Summer Publication[1]

Biography, Memoirs and Letters

My War with the United States, by Ludwig Bemelmans. Viking. $2.50.

Journal of a Country Priest, by Georges Bernanos. Macmillan. $2.50.

The Life of John Keats, by Charles Armitage Brown. Oxford. $2.

Politics from Inside, by Sir Austen Chamberlain. Yale U. $5.

Anatole France, by Edwin Preston Dargan. Oxford. $5.

The Goncourt Journals: 1851-70, edited and translated by Lewis Galantière. Doubleday, Doran. $3.50.

The Great Goldwyn, by Alva Johnston. Random House. $1.50.

Thomas Gray: Scholar and Poet, by William P. Jones. Harvard. $5.

T. E. Lawrence by His Friends, edited by A. W. Lawrence. Doubleday, Doran. $4.

The Life of Edward Gibbon, by D. M. Low. Random House. $3.50.

A Maverick American, by Maury Maverick. Covici, Friede. $3.

The Life of George W. Norris, by Richard L. Neuberger and Stephen B. Kahn. Vanguard. $2.75.

The Guggenheims, by Harvey O'Connor. Covici, Friede. $3.

Before I Forget, by Burton Rascoe. Doubleday, Doran. $3.

Fiction

Runaround, by Benjamin Appel. Dutton. $2.50.

A Cardinal of the Medici, by Susan Hicks Beach. Macmillan. $3.

A Mighty Fortress, by LeGrand Cannon Jr. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

One Life, One Kopek, by Walter Duranty. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

Can All This Grandeur Perish? by James T. Farrell. Vanguard. $2.50.

The Best Short Stories: 1937, edited by Edward J. O'Brien. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50.

The Life and Death of a Spanish Town, by Elliot Paul. Random House. $2.50.

Northwest Passage, by Kenneth Roberts. Doubleday, Doran. $2.75.

The Tree Falls South, by Wellington Roe. Putnam. $2.

Little Children, by William Saroyan. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.

Children of Strangers, by Lyle Saxon. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50.

Star-Begotten, by H. G. Wells. Viking. $1.75.

White Mule, by William Carlos Williams. New Directions. $2.50.

Home Is Where You Hang Your Childhood, by Leane Zugsmith. Random House. $1.50.

[1] This list also includes such outstanding spring books as have not yet been reviewed here.

General

The Supreme Court and the National Will, by Dean Alfange. Doubleday, Doran. $2.50.

A Social and Religious History of the Jews, by Salo Wittmayer Baron. Columbia U. 3 vols., $11.50.

Neutrality for the United States, by Edwin Borchard and William P. Lage. Yale U. $3.50.

The Structure and Spirit of German Fascism, by Robert A. Brady. Viking. $3.

The Mind of Man: The Story of Man's Conquest of Mental Illness, by Walter Bromberg. Harper. $3.50.

Our Racial and National Minorities, by Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek. Prentice-Hall. $5.

The Road to Reunion: 1865-1900, by Paul H. Buck. Little, Brown. $3.25.

Kennebec: Cradle of Americans, by Robert P. T. Coffin. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

What Is Ahead of Us? by G. D. H. Cole and Others. Macmillan. $2.

The Birth of China: A Survey of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization, by Herrlee Glessner Creel. Reynal and Hitchcock—a John Day book. $3.75.

The Mentally Ill in America, by Albert Deutsch. Doubleday, Doran. $3.

Struggles for Democracy, by William E. Dodd. Macmillan. $3.

American Political and Social History, by Harold U. Faulkner. Crofts. $5.

Europe in Arms, by Liddell Hart. Random House. $2.50.

Bulwark of the Republic: A Biography of the Constitution, by Burton J. Hendrick. Little, Brown. $3.50.

The Paris Commune of 1871, by Frank Jellinek. Oxford. $3.

East Goes West, by Younghill Kang. Scribner's. $2.75.

Child Workers in America, by Katherine Lumpkin and Dorothy Douglas. McBride. $3.50.

The Backward Art of Spending Money, and Other Essays, by Wesley C. Mitchell. McGraw-Hill. $3.

Shadow on the Land: Syphilis, by Thomas Parran. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.

A History of Chicago: Volume I, by Bessie Louise Pierce. Knopf. $5.

Nationalism and Culture, by Rudolph Rocker. Covici, Friede. $3.50.

Social and Cultural Dynamics, by Pitirim A. Sorokin. American Book Company. 3 vols. $15.

Verse and Criticism

Freud, Goethe, Wagner, by Thomas Mann. Knopf. $2.

Three Ways of Modern Man, by Harry Slochower. International. $2.

Hounds on the Mountain, by James Still. Viking. $2.

Ten Principal Upanishads, translated by Shree Purohit Swami and William Butler Yeats. Macmillian. $2.

Twelve Poets of the Pacific, edited by Yvor Winters. New Directions. $2.50.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lloyd George's Final

War Memoirs of David Lloyd George: 1918. Volume VI. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 406 pages. $3.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S sixth volume, bringing the story of the War to the Armistice, lacks something of the interest attending the earlier installments. He has little to tell us that is new and only the old themes to sound with variations. In the success of the campaigns in the Vardar Valley and Palestine he finds confirmation for his original view that the War might have been won two years earlier in the East, while the high command was fatuously sacrificing millions of men on the Somme and at Passchendaele. He continues to take credit for the appointment of Foch to supreme command in France, and having had full confidence in that general can record imperturbably the successive thrusts deep into the allied front in the spring and summer of 1918. He continues to pour hot shot into the sunken reputation of Lord Haig. He insinuates that Haig was personally a coward. While a commander in modern war is not expected to lead his men, Mr. Lloyd George intimates that he should not shun personal risk in visiting the front and acquainting himself with the conditions in which his men must fight. If Haig had inspected the swamp that lay in front of his lines at Passchendaele he might have learned the futility of wasting a half million men on an advance of six miles. On the basis of Lord Haig's diaries Mr. Lloyd George accuses him of intriguing with Sir William Robertson to obtain the removal of French as commander in the field and Kitchener as chief of the general staff. Of his meanness in making General Gough the scapegoat for his own errors in meeting the German attack in April, 1918, we have been told in an earlier volume. Finally, Mr. Lloyd George reflects disastrously on the military capacity of both Haig and the chief of staff Sir Henry Wilson by showing their utter failure to understand the situation as late as October, 1919, when they held that a campaign would be necessary in the next year.

Mr. Lloyd George has the advantage of German documents of which in this volume he makes considerable use. He sees the German high command guilty of errors corresponding to those of the Allies. Germany might have won the war in the East. Instead Falkenhayn sacrificed the flower of his army at Verdun, as Haig at Passchendaele. Finally Ludendorff threw away his last chance of forcing a stalemate by his reckless offensives in 1918 which played directly into the adroit hands of Foch.

All this supports Mr. Lloyd George's persistent thesis in favor of the political as against the military mind. Especially in a modern war, which involves a whole population, in which industrial capacity must be geared to its highest for the manufacture of war material, supplies of food maintained and morale kept up behind the lines, the political power must be trusted to take the larger view in the distribution of resources and man power against the military with its incessant demand for men at the front. The question of the interference of the government in matters of strategy he admits is a perplexing one, but it is clear what his own opinion is. For the military mind working in the military system he has supreme contempt. He singles out for special praise General Monash, a civilian who became corps commander of the Anzacs, and notes: "In the armies of Great Britain a man of his conspicuous genius would have had no chance to show his qualities as a military leader." There is a last bitter thrust when the sacrifice of the brilliant opportunities of 1917 in favor of Haig's bloody blunder at Passchendaele is laid to military chivalry. "The French generals had promised to give him his chance and professional good fellowship was involved in letting him have it."

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

Agricultural Adjustment: First Phase

Three Years of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, by Edwin G. Nourse, Joseph S. Davis and John D. Black. Washington: The Brookings Institution. 614 pages. $3.50.

THE AAA constitutes the greatest single experiment in economic planning under capitalistic conditions ever attempted by a democracy in times of peace. Leaving the ownership and direction of individual farms in private hands, it sought to promote and sustain economic recovery by a coöperative adjustment of production in line with national goals. It involved the combination of individual responsibility for production with national planning. To the extent that the AAA succeeded, it forged out new forms of economic organization which may be of great future value for other industries as well.

When three eminent economists with divergent personal points of view, with the resources of a great research institute at their command, and with all the inside records and experience of the operating agency open to them, attempt to assay the results of such an experiment, their conclusions must be read with respect. Joseph S. Davis, formerly chief economist for the Federal Farm Board, a director of Stanford University's Food Research Institute, is the most conservative; Edwin G. Nourse, lifelong student of agricultural coöperation and one of the founders of agricultural economics, takes a statesmanlike middle course; while John D. Black, an outstanding teacher of professional agricultural economists at Minnesota and Harvard, long a student of "agricultural reform" and one of the first to attract public attention to the "domestic-allotment plan," is the most liberal. Their attempt to reach a common judgment is interesting as much for the occasional dissents as for the many agreements.

I myself, as one personally involved in the drama of the AAA, cannot hope to be free of bias in reviewing this judgment on its work. For that reason I will let the book largely speak for itself, endeavoring to pick the quotations fairly.

The sheer administrative job was well done. "Mistakes were made and troublesome delays encountered. Nevertheless this gigantic and difficult undertaking met with a degree of operative success which may well command the respect of students of government administration." The administrative method involved "an original and challenging combination of centralized and decentralized methods . . . an experiment in administration hardly less than in economic direction. . . . It did not invoke the centralized control of agriculture but the 'centralizing power of government.' Such planned action as it has inaugurated was not according to an arbitrary pattern, but sought rather to be an exemplification of practical 'self-government in industry.'"

The mechanism for controlling production through voluntary contracts did work after a fashion. In corn, hogs and wheat, intensive reduction efforts were soon made unnecessary by short crops and droughts. But if weather conditions had been normal, more drastic reductions might have been sought and attained. Even without the Bankhead and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kerr-Smith Acts and their coercive taxes, voluntary control might have been effective for tobacco and cotton. However, the longer voluntary production-control contracts were kept in operation, the less effective they seemed to become, on account of decreasing participation, increasing outside production and decreasing compliance.

The AAA did as a whole succeed in reducing output, at least in those crops where drought did not make the job unnecessary. What were the consequences on farm income and recovery?

In its direct effects, the AAA added between $1,800,000,000 and $2,000,000,000 to farm income during the years 1933 to 1935, the authors find, in addition to the increases that took place from other causes. A material part of the increase came from processing taxes and benefit payments; a smaller part from the increase in product values due to production adjustments. The gross increase in farmers' income during these three years, above the 1932 levels, was $6,000,000,000; thus the AAA was directly responsible for but one-third of the increase. However, the gain in farm income contributed to general recovery, and general recovery in turn to farm income. Including these indirect effects, which the authors do not attempt to estimate, the reviewer believes that half the gain in farm income may reasonably be attributed to the AAA.

Geographically the gain was largest in regions where prices had declined the most during the depression; as between classes, tenants and farm laborers shared fairly in the increased income. To the charge that the AAA did not correct the generations-old problems of the sharecropper, the report answers that this was not its major objective, but that neither did it intensify those problems in any measurable way.

The control of production was achieved without undue regimentation of the individual. "Though freedom of individual enterprise was modified, it was by no means destroyed, and in return [the farmer] had a larger measure of that freedom which comes with increased economic security." On the other hand, the "several production-adjustment programs tended to subsidize inefficient and high-cost farming to a significant extent."

"The consumer has been recognized as a party at interest in a way quite unique in such undertakings."

"It seems clear that the agricultural-adjustment effort had the effect contemplated by the framers of the Act . . . it had a positive recovery effect of substantial magnitude, though not as great as was anticipated . . . the result was not merely a shifting of a fixed amount of purchasing power with acceleration of its rate of movement, but a growth by which the increment going to the farmer was enlarged out of new wealth derived from the process itself." (But Davis, the conservative, dissents: "This chapter conveys a materially exaggerated impression of the *extent* of the AAA's recovery contribution, particularly in 1933-34.")

The authors set down their recommendations for future farm policy, but fail to agree on many points. Nourse and Black have this to say under each of six major heads:

1. Production Control: In spite of industrial recovery, production control may be needed again in the future, "but we need clearly to recognize these as emergency devices."

2. Market Operations: (a) Government purchase of temporary surpluses for relief distribution "is economically good policy" (but Davis dissents). (b) The use of marketing agreements "on a limited scale should be continued." For marketing operations in milk, the experience tentatively points to something "taking

Which Camera Should You Buy ?

Can you get as good pictures with a $10 camera as you can with a $50 one?
Should you buy a miniature camera or a large one?
Which is better—the Contax or the Leica?

The first of two reports on cameras appearing in the current issue of *Consumers Union Reports* will help you to answer such questions as these. Non-miniature cameras, including both American and foreign makes, are covered in this report. The second report, which will appear next month, will cover miniature cameras.

As in reports on other products, comparisons of the quality and value of outstanding makes (including Kodak, Agfa, Leica, Contax, and Graflex) will be given and the Best Buys of each type and in each price range indicated by name. Read these reports before deciding which camera to buy. They will give you the guidance of experts in the selection of a camera. They can save you money and help you get better pictures.

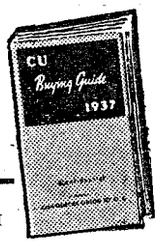
House Dresses—Radio Tubes—Flashlights—Sanitary Napkins

Other reports in this issue give you the results of tests made on competing brands of house dresses, radio tubes, flashlights, sanitary napkins, shoe whiteners, and canned peaches and canned tomatoes—with ratings, *in terms of brand names*, as "Best Buys," "Also Acceptable," and "Not Acceptable."

COMING IN NEXT MONTH'S ISSUE—Ratings of the 1937 Refrigerators.

A $3 Investment which Can Save You $50 to $300

Membership in Consumers Union, which brings you twelve issues of *Consumers Union Reports* and a 240-page *Buying Guide*, costs but $3 a year ($1 for the abridged edition covering only the less expensive types of products). Information from many of Consumers Union's 40,000 members indicates that the regular use of these *Reports* and the *Buying Guide* can save the average family sums ranging from $50 a year to $300 and over.



Membership can be started with any of the following issues: SEP.—Shoes, Tires, Whiskies; OCT. — Dentifrices, Gins, Electric Razors; NOV.—Radios, Wines, Children's Shoes; DEC. — Vacuum Cleaners, Fountain Pens, Blankets; JAN.-FEB.—Men's Suits, Cold Remedies, Shaving Creams; MAR.—Autos, Face Powders, Flour; APR.—Shirts, Cold Creams, Gardening; MAY — Trailers, Washing Machines, and the first of a series of articles on the causes and treatment of constipation.

Mail the Coupon Today!

WITH YOUR MEMBERSHIP—

A 240-PAGE BUYING GUIDE

containing ratings of over a thousand products, by brand name, as "Best Buys," "Also Acceptable," and "Not Acceptable." Get this Buying Guide by mailing coupon NOW!

To: CONSUMERS UNION of United States, Inc.
55 Vandam Street, New York, N. Y.

I hereby apply for membership in Consumers Union. I enclose:

☐ $3 for one year's membership, $2.50 of which is for a year's subscription to the complete edition of **Consumers Union Reports.**

☐ $1 for one year's membership, 50c of which is for a year's subscription to the limited edition of **Consumers Union Reports.** (Note: Reports on higher-priced products are not in this edition.)

I agree to keep confidential all material sent to me which is so designated.

Signature.....

Address.....

City & State..... Occupation.....R-6

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AFTER the GENTEEL TRADITION

AMERICAN WRITERS SINCE 1910

Edited and with Foreword and Postscript by

MALCOLM COWLEY

"A FRESH and informative picture of recent American literature. No one pretending to an interest in literature can afford not to read it, and certainly no instructor or professor of 'English' dare avoid it. Mr. Cowley has succeeded in welding these essays, which are by various authors, into an entity," says the ***Book Union Bulletin*** in recommending this critical estimate of American writers who came into prominence after 1910, evaluated according to current standards by a group of leading critics of today. With biographical notes and Literary Calendar.

CONTENTS

THEODORE DREISER, *by John Chamberlain*
UPTON SINCLAIR, *by Robert Cantwell*
WILLA CATHER, *by Lionel Trilling*
VAN WYCK BROOKS, *by Bernard Smith*
CARL SANDBURG, *by Newton Arvin*
SHERWOOD ANDERSON, *by Robert Morss Lovett*
H. L. MENCKEN, *by Louis Kronenberger*
SINCLAIR LEWIS, *by Robert Cantwell*
EUGENE O'NEILL, *by Lionel Trilling*
THE JAMES BRANCH CABELL PERIOD, *by Peter Monro Jack*
TWO POETS: JEFFERS AND MILLAY, *by Hildegarde Flanner*
DOS PASSOS: POET AGAINST THE WORLD, *by Malcolm Cowley*
HOMAGE TO HEMINGWAY, *by John Peale Bishop*
THOMAS WOLFE, *by Hamilton Basso*

At All Bookstores. $2.75

W. W. NORTON & CO., 70 Fifth Ave, N.Y.

on more nearly the character of public regulation."

3. Crop Loans: Those involving subsequent production-control operations "should be limited to extreme emergencies."

4. Benefit Payments: These are justified as an emergency recovery and pump-priming effort; and in some situations—as in cotton—subsidies alone are perhaps preferable to production control. "In this situation we believe that somewhat prolonged subvention may be in the national interest."

5. Processing Taxes: "We believe that a processing tax in support of a true adjustment operation designed to bring the particular branch of agriculture into balance with other lines of production on a remunerative price level is sound and promotes a better functioning society."

6. Soil Conservation: "The program has taken on such a character as places minor emphasis on true agricultural adjustment and major emphasis on disbursing a very large amount of money to the maximum number of farmers. . . . The task of true adjustment should be worked out as a comprehensive plan embracing a land-use program, a rural-credits program and a marketing-adjustment program."

Davis, dissenting from many of these recommendations, says: "The devices employed by the AAA were broadly incapable of attaining the objectives sought. . . . The net gain properly attributable to the AAA to date is moderate, not large. . . . I believe the AAA might have contributed more to recovery . . . if it had never embarked upon production-control programs."

Black, on the other hand, has more faith in such social action. To him, the AAA "represented a combination of inventive imagination and power to translate vision into effective action seldom given to new ventures in public administration in this country. . . . The AAA lent farmers the power of government to support monopoly arrangements but on a basis of collaboration that ensures the protection of the public interest in a way that now exists not at all in the monopoly controls being exercised more and more by labor and capital. . . . Does it not, then, point the direction we all must follow?"

The AAA did succeed in reducing oppressive agricultural surpluses by a democratic way of achieving concerted action by farmers; it did help to raise farm incomes; and it did contribute to nationwide recovery. Beyond these broad general conclusions, many readers will wish the authors could be more positive and specific—and more unanimous—in their findings. Perhaps in the future, when time has blurred the myriad complexities of the New Deal programs, economic historians will feel surer as to what the AAA accomplished. For the writing of that history the series of Brookings studies of the AAA, in seven books with more than 3,000 close-packed pages, will provide a more competent concurrent appraisal than we have ever had before of any great social experiment.

This final summary book has one great virtue—it is not too sure. Three men of different temperaments study intensively the work of thousands of other men in creating a new social institution, in close personal contact with the men carrying on the job. But their judgment on its success depends in the end on each one's individual temperament. The conservative still yearns for the past; the liberal would push the new methods forward even faster. This report will live and be studied for many long years, for it carries within itself that clash of contending ideologies and interests out of which the present generation may yet forge a new civilization.

MORDECAI EZEKIEL.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Humanism and Hollywood

Art and Prudence, by Mortimer J. Adler. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 700 pages. $5.

OSTENSIBLY about the movies, "Art and Prudence" is in fact a work on Ethics, Metaphysics and Logic, divided into three books. The first book deals with the attitude toward the dramatic arts displayed in Europe since Plato and Aristotle. The second contains an analysis of the Payne Fund Reports on the movies that professes to be conceived in terms of a theory of knowledge inspired by Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas, followed by the formulation of a conflict between art and prudence. The third is an analysis of the movies, inspired by the "Poetics" of Aristotle.

In "Art and Prudence" Mr. Adler resurrects the Humanism of the twenties—a humanism subtle and refined, more technical and scholastic in its language than that of More and Babbitt, but one with them in its contrast of a wise and perfect antiquity with a crude, unfinished present. Like them he uses tradition as ritual. The names of Plato and Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas and Augustine, Bossuet and even Jeremy Collier become symbols by means of which the devils of contemporaneity may be exorcised. And like all symbols, what they are in their original and perhaps natural context becomes irrelevant.

Mr. Adler leans much upon the authority of Plato, upon the authority of Aristotle, upon the authority of St. Thomas Aquinas. Since he tells us that a faithful interpretation of texts is a matter for scholars, and that "whether an interpretation which the text permits and suggests is sound and illuminating is the only question a philosopher considers," it may not matter that his interpretations of the texts of Aristotle and St. Thomas are neither faithful nor accurate. Though how we are to tell what interpretation a text permits without first understanding its meaning is a question he apparently thinks not fit to consider. That Mr. Adler manufactures a conflict between Art and Prudence where St. Thomas saw only a distinction, and that not the distinction which Mr. Adler ascribes to St. Thomas; that by means of erroneous citations he derives a distinction between the fine and useful arts which St. Thomas did not make, and which, in terms of his definition of art St. Thomas could not have made; that he manipulates citations from Aristotle in such a manner as to make Aristotle mean the opposite of his own statement, are of trivial consequence. What is not trivial, however, is the import of them in Mr. Adler's attempt, with their aid, to enforce his own dichotomy between the sciences and philosophy, supported by all the weight of a tradition that in reality is irrelevant to that attempt. Not only does he make use of this authority to endow himself with a power not his, but he also escapes the necessity for explication that the reader might otherwise demand.

In his analysis of the Payne Fund reports, for example, Adler not only criticizes the social scientists of the group in terms of their own canons (a perfectly legitimate procedure), but he finds fault with them for not being what they do not pretend to be, philosophers and explicit followers of Plato, Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas (though Mr. Adler does not tell us why a saint's litany is any more important in philosophy than in mathematical physics). One might as well charge Roland Young with not being Edwin Booth. Though Mr. Adler persistently avows a sense of fact, he charges the social scientists with being corrupters of youth. And this generalization is made

now . . . you CAN HAVE THE QUALITY-PROTECTION AND SAVINGS OF A Consumers Cooperative

It has been estimated that $2.30 is spent in distribution for every $1.00 spent in production of goods! 100,000,000 families (in 43 countries) are successfully fighting excessive distribution cost through consumers' cooperation: the *quality-protecting, value-rendering, money-saving* method of distribution *owned by the consumers themselves.*

Today, wherever you live, *you* can benefit from cooperative purchasing. For Cooperative Distributors, in addition to serving purchasers over-the-counter, serves all the U. S. through Mail Order facilities! And Cooperative Distributors maintain *a laboratory* to protect consumers against inferior quality, and a *union-made preference policy* to support organized labor.

NOT "BARGAINS". . .

Every-Day Values typical of thousands made possible by Cooperation:

CD TOOTH POWDER

Laboratory-tested for honest quality! Finest polishing agents are used in formula. Attractive package with brass rust-proof cap. 4-ounce can 22c (four cans, 80c).

CD MOTH CONTROL

Laboratory-tested for honest quality! 'Para' *is highly effective dry* protection for use in trunks and tight closets. No after-odor. 1½-lb. can, 55c (3-lb. can, $1.00).

FREE! *Consumers Defender,* magazine-catalog listing hundreds of values like these. You will want to avail yourself of the benefits and privileges of membership in CD. *But even though you are not a member, you may buy through this rapidly-growing Rochdale cooperative.*

MAIL TODAY!

COOPERATIVE DISTRIBUTORS R
30 Irving Place, New York, N. Y.
Gentlemen: Please send me, FREE, latest copy of CONSUMERS DEFENDER and literature describing your organization.

Name.....
Addres.....
City..... State.....

COOPERATIVE DISTRIBUTORS
AFFILIATED WITH THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE U. S. A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To honor the Americans who have died . . .
To help the Americans who live . . .
IN SPAIN'S FRONT LINE TRENCHES

MASS RALLY

Wednesday, June 23—8 p. m.

Auspices: Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion
Spot News of Friends and Relatives at the Front
from ROBERT MINOR (Now en route from Spain)
JAMES W. FORD (Recently in the trenches)
SAMUEL STEMBER (Commander, Lincoln Battalion, just returned from 5 months on Jarama Front)
Guest Speaker: WILLIAM FLAHERTY—Father of 3 fighters in Battalion.

GREET THE DELEGATION GOING TO SPAIN!
The relatives of boys in the Battalion will be honored guests
Chairman: PHIL BARD, Formerly with the Lincoln Battalion
—By Special Arrangement This Meeting Will Be Broadcast to Spain.

THE HIPPODROME
43rd Street and Sixth Avenue
General Admission: 25 cents

Contribute NOW *to the* $25,000 *Independence Day Shipment to Spain*
FRIENDS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BATTALION
125 West 45th Street, New York City.
I enclose $..... as my contribution to the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion.

NAME .....
ADDRESS .....

Are You **PUZZLED** *by the* **MOSCOW TRIALS?**

The Moscow Trials which shocked a whole world were predicted by Trotsky in 1929. The Trials were the culmination of 14 years of lesser frame-ups. They cannot be understood without a knowledge of the events stretching back to 1923 which made them not only possible but *inevitable!* This book substitutes fact for conjecture... presents proofs backed by *documentary* evidence (official Communist documents reproduced in English for the *first time!*).

***The* STALIN SCHOOL *of* FALSIFICATION**
***by Leon Trotsky* $2.50**
Order from your bookseller, or
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
100 Fifth Ave., New York
Publication date, July 5th

in spite of the fact that in his own analysis several of the reports come out very well. And those criticized are completely susceptible of judgment in terms of the ordinary procedure of the sociologists. Adler charges the social scientists with incomplete inductions. He is not free from them himself. In terms of his own canons his *obiter dicta* on communism and fascism, democracy and the church, show an ignorance or levity that is inexcusable.

When Adler, after some 400 pages, finally gets to the movies his observations and conclusions are sometimes just, considered and interesting. He exercises both his perceptions and his common sense. As he cannot call upon St. Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle for an adequate account of the movies he is constrained to find his contemporaries worthy of respect.

LINCOLN REIS.

Give Me Liberty

We or They: Two Worlds in Conflict, by Hamilton Fish Armstrong. New York: The Macmillan Company. 106 pages. $1.50.

Collectivism: A False Utopia, by William Henry Chamberlin. New York: The Macmillan Company. 273 pages. $2.

IN THE evolution of every ideology, defenders of the faith are active and numerous at dawn and at dusk. New creeds are propagated by missionaries and crusaders. Established creeds foster indifference and skepticism. Old and dying creeds, or those which find themselves challenged to mortal combat, again breed champions willing to do or die. Liberalism is no exception. In the eleventh hour, with totalitarian tyranny everywhere on the offensive, liberals are rallying to the defense of liberty.

Among the new fighters for freedom, Messrs. Armstrong and Chamberlin deserve honorable places. The able director of the Council on Foreign Relations has written an eloquent and scintillating counter-attack. He accepts Mussolini's defi: "The struggle between two worlds can permit no compromise. . . . Either we or they! Either their ideas or ours! Either our state or theirs!" The gulf between cannot be bridged. There can be no truce with tyrants, red, black or brown. With a vigor and forthrightness somehow reminiscent of Thomas Paine, Mr. Armstrong hurls defiance in the teeth of the despots. And he recognizes that the sword may be needed as well as the pen. Democracy has no right to suicide. Its first victories were won by force. Its heritage must, if necessary, be defended by force.

Mr. Chamberlin, former Moscow correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor, is less eloquent but no less ardent. His chief target is communism. "The strongest positive conviction I carried away from a stay of almost twelve years in the Soviet Union," says he, "was of the absolute, unconditional value of human liberty." He has not become a Red-baiter (his vials of wrath for fascism are as acid as those he empties on the Kremlin), but he has concluded, quite sanely and logically, that "socialism cannot be a road to plenty because it cannot be a road to freedom" and that proletarian dictatorship is as monstrous and intolerable as fascist despotism. Here is a sharp and inescapable portrait of the USSR by an honest liberal who knows Russia well. His indictment is far more incisive than Trotsky's fevered fulminations or André Gide's vague nostalgia for Utopia.

Both these volumes pose a crucial question: Can communist dictatorship create the conditions for a fuller realization of human liberty than is possible under democratic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

capitalism, or is Soviet socialism, like fascist capitalism, simply a new form of oppression and degradation? Among liberals, there can be no serious differences of judgments regarding fascism. Neither is it to be denied that the Bolshevik Party, as a disciplined brotherhood employing terror, propaganda and pageantry in a new technique of oligarchy, was the pattern upon which Mussolini and Hitler fashioned their own weapons of power. When liberals seek to evaluate the direction in which the USSR is moving, however, they are no longer on sure ground.

Communists stoutly profess allegiance to liberty and democracy. They promise a freer and more democratic life for all, once the vestiges of exploitation have been liquidated and socialist economy has been built upon a firm basis. Dictatorship is but a means that will ultimately wither away. Already the new Soviet constitution inaugurates a new era of freedom. In any case, the Russian masses, it is alleged, never enjoyed liberty, and they have gained in security and well-being what they have lost in freedom. Mr. Chamberlin is properly skeptical and unconvinced. After twenty years the Soviet scene is a dubious testimonial for the Marxist prescription of emancipation through social revolution, prosperity through collectivism, freedom through dictatorship. When old revolutionists in liaison with embittered exiles abroad plot treason and murder against the holders of power in the Soviet state, then—however dastardly the plotters and however heavy their guilt—there remains much in that state which is rotten. Socialist business, moreover, does not flourish in a bureaucratic atmosphere of suspicion, fear and universal espionage. Neither freedom nor plenty prevails as yet. Oppression and want are the task-masters under communism no less than under fascism. Armstrong and Chamberlin believe that this must always be so.

Another generation may be needed to test this belief. The question posed can scarcely be answered now. The USSR has a habit of confounding its critics by doing the unexpected and achieving the impossible. Freedom may come in full measure when prosperity and peace are secure, even if blind conformity is poor preparation for the responsibilities of democracy. If efficiency in production is achieved, prosperity is possible, because an economy resting upon public monopoly (unlike the fascist economies resting upon private monopoly) is capable of expanding mass consumption almost indefinitely. Assuredly there is no "inevitability" about the advent of liberty and plenty in Soviet society. But this is within the realm of the possible, as is not the case under fascism. This possibility Armstrong and Chamberlin sweep lightly aside.

Meanwhile the menace to liberalism comes obviously not from the Left but from the Right. And obviously, if freedom is to survive, it will be because the Western democracies stand united with Moscow against the fascist threat. This union is an imperative political necessity in the present world crisis. The liberals who seek to tar enemies and allies with the same brush give comfort to the foe and do liberalism a disservice. Before 1933, orthodox communists were unable to distinguish between liberals and fascists. They have since recognized their error. Liberals who cannot distinguish between communists and fascists fall into similar error. Here, paradoxically, the fascists are most nearly right. There is a hard kernel of truth in the fascist contention that liberalism and communism are akin. In ultimate ideals and in immediate interests, democracy and sovietism are not enemies but brothers. In closer union and in gradual assimilation between these faiths, freedom may yet find salvation.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN.

WHO GETS WHAT?

"Careful and detailed analysis of German Fascism — the most complete, to my knowledge, that exists in the English language."

—*Harold J. Laski*

The definitive study of German Fascism, tracing it to its source in monopoly capitalism, telling how the Nazis climbed to power on the backs of the working class, how they retain that power. Professor Brady describes the state agencies which regulate the daily life of the German people. His charts are clear, enlightening blueprints of Fascism.

The book concludes with a survey of Fascist tendencies throughout the world, including the United States, which every liberal should regard as a duty to read and to get others to read. "Economic realism. Cuts through to the supreme question: Who gets what?"—*Charles A. Beard.* Index, charts, Viking Press, $3.00

THE SPIRIT AND STRUCTURE OF GERMAN FASCISM

by Robert A. Brady

When **THE LITERARY DIGEST** says that

JOHN L. LEWIS

"considers Morris Ernst's *The Ultimate Power* is one of his reading 'musts'," it reflects the feeling of liberal readers and thinkers everywhere.

THE ULTIMATE POWER

by *Morris L. Ernst*

At all booksellers $3.00

DOUBLEDAY, DORAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SEEING
RUSSIA with EXPERTS

GENERAL SURVEY TOUR. Leader: Robert Magidoff, literary worker in Moscow since 1935. Sailing July 3. Eight weeks $399

A TRAVEL "COLLECTIVE." Leader: Dr. Joshua Kunitz, journalist, now living in Moscow. Sailing July 3. Eight weeks $543

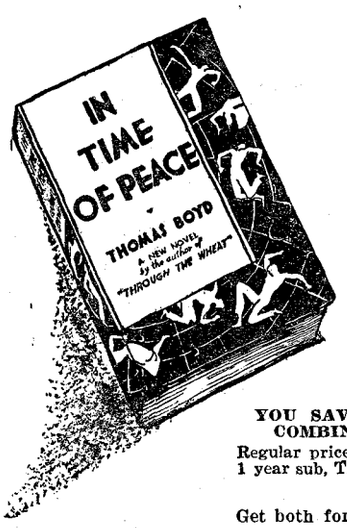
THEATRE FESTIVAL TOUR. Leader: Will Geer of New Theatre League. Five weeks in Russia, including Theatre Festival. Sailing July 28. Eight weeks..... $595

EUROPE AND RUSSIA (auspices American Student Union). France, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, England. Sailing July 8. Eight weeks $499

All steamship passage Third Class.

THE OPEN ROAD
SOVIET TRAVEL DIVISION
8 West 40th Street New York
Cooperating with Intourist

"A DOCUMENT
OF OUR DISORDERED TIMES"



"IN TIME OF PEACE" THE LAST NOVEL BY THOMAS BOYD OFFERED IN COMBINATION WITH A YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO THE WOMAN TODAY FOR $1.50

YOU SAVE $2.00 ON THE COMBINATION OFFER
Regular price of the book.....$2.50
1 year sub, THE WOMAN TODAY 1.00
$3.50
Get both for $1.50 and save $2.00

★ "An absorbing story."—*Harold M. Olson in the N. Y. Daily News.*
★ "It is as full of action and character and meaning, as American life."—*Burlington Free Press.*
★ "Boyd reached his full stature in this last book. . . . The book is irresistible."—*Miles Alden in the Boston American.*
★ "Mr. Boyd has something worth writing about."—*Heywood Brown in the Book-of-the-Month Club News.*
★ "A thought-provoking, readable book."—*America.*
★ "A magnificent panorama of No Man's Land of our own industrial civilization. . . . It is the story of our people and our time, written with deep feeling and compassion."—*George Seldes.*
★ "Fine novel."—*New Yorker.*
★ "A poignant, vivid picture of the post-war decade."—*Los Angeles Times.*
★ "Sincere and genuine....It is narrative rather than propaganda. I would call it a gripping story."—*Richard Montgomery (J. K. Gill Radio Review).*
★ "'In Time of Peace' is an accomplishment. Thomas Boyd approached the novel with integrity."—*Charles Hatchard, New Masses*

THE WOMAN TODAY, 112 E. 19 St., New York City

Please send me a copy of "In Time of Peace" by Thomas Boyd and THE WOMAN TODAY for one year. I enclose $1.50 in full payment in accordance with your Special Combination Offer.

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....STATE.....
OCCUPATION.....

Some of the New Fiction

The Cock's Funeral, by Ben Field. New York: International Publishers. $1.75.

THE IDEA of a dispossessed farmer, of a jobless farmhand, seems almost more pitiful than that of a jobless city worker. We think of the farmer as bent over, with his fingers deep in the soil; we hardly know where he ends and where the soil begins. A man of the soil without any soil seems almost a cripple, seems like another without any hands. In a world of hope, of waiting—maybe next spring we'll get credit for seed, maybe next fall there'll be a good harvest, and grain prices will be up—take away the basis for hope, the earth from underneath, and you have left a particular uselessness and futility.

The stories in "The Cock's Funeral" are about farmers and farm hands who are being pushed off the edge. Most of the stories are written to a formula which produces one result. As the particular individual is going over, is about to be evicted, is cut off relief, is fired from a job when he so needs a job, his hands are grasped by the hands of others on the brink; they raise him, steady him, allow him to stand; they are collected, militant, strong; they only release his hands to raise their own in a fist; and all together they begin pushing back from the edge.

These might be called rousing stories and they are personal and partisan and written from below, from the point of view of those who won't be dispossessed. They are sharply done: Mr. Field smells the soil and loves the people; he hears speech and renders it. He has the equipment of a sensitive short-story writer, and he proves it in the few stories in the book that do not end in wish-fulfilment. "Johnny Gets a Curve" and "The Cock's Funeral" and "The New Housekeeper" are scenes caught from life and are superior to the others, which are forced stage scenes.

N. A.

American Dream, by Michael Foster. New York: William Morrow and Company. $3.

THE MODE of presentation here is reminiscent of the Muni-Robinson-Dix cycle of "epic" movies of about four years ago—the attempt to catch the American spirit in a chronicle-film of surface events, stock characters, settings cluttered with properties. Not that "American Dream" hasn't good moments or isn't interesting reading: it is the bigness of its effort that magnifies its shortcomings.

Shelby Thrall, trying to break away from the soupy life of a newspaperman, plows into his unconscious to find roots and values. There is a great deal he can't account for, so the story omnisciently surveys the previous two generations of Thralls, covering a wide geographic range and introducing every possible "ingredient" of American life from Indians on the warpath to Greenwich Villagers on a party. The Thrall men have been fired by the American "dream," sometimes a bit too obviously, as in the case of Shelby's grandfather, an Irish sea captain who had married into a rigid New England family. He talks about the dream with a hunchback Puritan blue-stocking who has stowed away on his ship with a crucifix and a determination to be seduced: "Why, darling," she said, "you are the American dream."

The most acceptable piece of writing in the book comes at the moment Shelby is breaking away; it is a drunken newspaperman's bitter statement of the American dilemma. This is the age of grabbers and shouters, third-rate social and political personalities, hope lies in the quiet ten percent of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the people who are minding the essentials. All this comes as a relief after Foster's "vividness" (Foster has a knack of phrasing which he spoils by repeating tricks and tints, running into the literary) but Shelby's quiet escape at the last doesn't seem to lead beyond the range of his father's failure. It may be noted, regarding the history of the American "dream," that the generation of Washington and Jefferson and Adams didn't sit around waiting for their descendants to live up to the landscape. H. T. M.

Glittering Death, by Joseph Peyré, translated by James Whitall. New York: Random House. $2.50.

This novel, winner of the Goncourt Prize for 1935, describes the decline of a famous matador, Ricardo Garcia, whose strength had been ruined in previous fights. While his wife is dying in a sanatorium, his expensive platinum-blonde mistress Marilena maneuvers him back into the arena, where he is disemboweled by the red bull Reversero 47, in the course of a magnificent spectacle, magnificently told. The plot is poor, the two chief protagonists are conventional and not quite convincing; but the story is constructed with skill and moves on simple lines to its glittering climax. The proximity of death coupled with the hero's faintly morbid eroticism and his resignation to his fate create a mood of nagging anguish that is never relieved except by a flash of triumphant valor in the last chapter. This mood is the author's subjective contribution to his tale, which stands mainly as a realistic piece of reporting on the underworld of the bullfighting business—on its managers, brokers, wirepullers, speculators and venal journalists. N. G.

A Chaste Polygamy, by Edward Mather. New York: Harper and Brothers. $2.

There are four long stories in this book and each one presents an entirely different group of characters set in four different countries. There are: a Countess, writing her confession from a French chateau; a pharmacomaniac in Morocco; a reunion in Spain; and three youths in the Cotswolds, each believing one of his companions to be responsible for a girl's death by abortion. In each of the stories a veiled struggle is in progress with its motives somewhat of a mystery, and Mr. Mather sets to work to explain the mystery by a careful psychological dissection of every character. This technique makes the stories rather concocted and bloodless. Although the author carries through his analyses very plausibly he rarely gives his characters a chance to stand on their own feet and explain their own actions and emotions. R. V.

Peace Is Where the Tempests Blow, by Valentine Kataev. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

Kataev has dealt with the foreshadowing events of the year 1905, the mutiny on the "Potemkin," and what might be described as the awakening of class-consciousness in Russia, in terms of the awakening consciousness of childhood. The hysteria and desperation of that year are employed as a counterpoint to the naïveté of the two boy characters, Gavrik and Petya, and are expressed in terms of their childish sensibilities and reactions. Gavrik and Petya become involved in sheltering the revolutionary sailor, Rodya, and in helping him escape from the police. Their awareness of social victimization and injustice occurs gradually, through an aura of "button-games" and nursery rhymes. Kataev makes his point with dexterity and charm—the kind of charm that brings to an obvious propagandistic pattern the human record of actual growing-pains. C. L.

The Paris Commune of 1871

By FRANK JELLINEK

"A detailed study of one of the most significant episodes in French history . . . written in a scholarly fashion with true appreciation of the details involved. Intensely interesting and historically valuable."—*Boston Transcript.* $3.00

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS · 114 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

THEATRE

A SHIP OF DOOM
. . . BLOTTING OUT THE SUN
. . . SAILING THE SCARLET SEAS
. . . *DESPERATE LOVE ABOARD!*

Warner BAXTER *Wallace* BEERY
in
SLAVE SHIP

ELIZABETH ALLAN : MICKEY ROONEY
GEORGE SANDERS : JANE DARWELL
JOSEPH SCHILDKRAUT

Directed by Tay Garnett : Associate Producer Nunnally Johnson
Based on a novel by George S. King
DARRYL F. ZANUCK in charge of Production
A 20th Century-Fox Picture.

UNITED ARTISTS **RIVOLI** B'way at 49th St. Midnite Shows

Special to "The New York Times."

WASHINGTON, April 29.—Drastic changes in the National Labor Relations Act were demanded by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in resolutions adopted today. It also strongly opposed President Roosevelt's judiciary program, demanded . . .

The enemies of economic change are active? Won't you act to-day?

Send us names of people who might become subscribers to THE NEW REPUBLIC if they were more familiar with the paper. We shall send a sample copy and information.

If you can give a trial subscription remember that the introductory subscription price is only

$1 for 13 weeks

The New REPUBLIC
40 E. 49th St., New York City

BOOKS

POSTAGE FREE

Books of all publishers promptly mailed anywhere in the U.S.A.

NEW REPUBLIC BOOKS
40 E. 49th St. New York, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contributors

ROBERT CANTWELL, author of "Laugh and Lie Down" and "The Land of Plenty," is completing a third novel. He recently returned to New York from a six-months' visit in Texas and Arizona.

IAGO GALDSTON is executive secretary of the Medical Information Bureau of the New York Academy of Medicine and consultant in Health Education of the National Tuberculosis Association. He is the author of numerous contributions to scientific and lay periodicals on health and educational technology.

WILLIAM SAROYAN'S new book, "Little Children," a collection of seventeen short stories all concerned with children and a child's world, is announced for publication in August by Harcourt, Brace. After a tour of duty in Hollywood, Saroyan is again living in San Francisco.

EDMUND WILSON'S latest book—three plays, "This Room and This Gin and These Sandwiches"—has just been published as one of The New Republic Dollar Series.

JOSEPHINE MILES is writing on the language of poetry as part of her work toward a Ph. D. at the University of California. Her verse has appeared in The New Republic, Poetry, The Saturday Review and other magazines.

MORDECAI EZEKIEL has been economic adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture since March, 1933. He contributes to statistical and sociological journals. His book, "$2,500 a Year—From Scarcity to Abundance," was published last year by Harcourt, Brace.

LINCOLN REIS is an instructor in Philosophy. He has contributed articles and book reviews to various publications.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, recently appointed professor of Political Science in Williams College, is spending the summer in Europe. A second, revised edition of his "International Politics" is being published this month by McGraw, Hill and later in the summer Henry Holt will publish his "Germany Since 1918" as one of the titles in the Berkshire Historical Series.

TRAVEL

SOVIET UNION - MEXICO
CRUISES
EDUTRAVEL INC.
55 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.
Tel. GRam. 7-3284-5
EDUTRAVEL INC.

TRAVEL CAMP

TRAVELLON A CAMP ON WHEELS
Educational exploration, boys and girls. Travel Northeast, visit places of historic, scientific interest; Indian reservations, caves. Nat'l & State Parks. Plus 4 wks. stationary camping, one of the Thousand Islands; abundant camp activities. Physician. Psychologist. **Mr. Charles MacIrwin, Little Red School House. Mrs. R. B. Reisley, 345 West 86th St., N. Y. C. SC. 4-0024.**

RESORTS

HIL-BERT FARM CAMP
LAKE MAHOPAC, NEW YORK
Camp Phone: Mahopac 2083
TO PARENTS: who desire a summer haven for their children. A real farm combining farm life with actual camp experiences. Gardening, farm animals; relaxation, supervised play; arts and crafts; tennis, swimming, horseback riding.
BERT FRIEDBERG
Co-educational — Ages 4 to 12
Adults will be accommodated until July 1 and after September 6.

TWIN PINES
A Camp for Adults
Days fly by at Twin Pines —every sport, dancing, entertainment and music . . . at attractive rates ($25.00 in June). De luxe accommodations in new main house, comfortable bungalow rooms.
TWIN PINES
ON TROUT LAKE
Samuel Saidel, Proprietor
Lake George New York

CHILDREN BOARDED

CHILDREN BOARDED—farm life. Councillor, limited group. Wholesome food, high altitude. Van Camp's, Mount Airy Road, Croton-on-Hudson, New York. Phone: Croton 508.

RESORTS

—JUNE VACATION JOYS—
Tennis, handball, horses, hiking . . . music, mirth and melody . . . congenial people . . . interesting and diversified activities . . . are to be found at
BLUE MOUNTAIN LODGE
N. Y. Central to Harmon — taxi to Lodge
PEEKSKILL Phone 1403 N. Y.

CAMP AT
LANDE'S Lakelawn
AN IDEAL SPOT ON THE LAKE
For a cool, healthful summer.
Swimming, Fishing, Boating, Golfing
408 Lake Drive Lakewood, N. J.
Tel. Lakewood 1487

OPENING JUNE 19th
LAKE CHODIKEE LODGE
. . . . . HIGHLAND, N. Y.
Exceptional facilities for Athletics and All Sports under direction of competent staff. Private lake, fine food. Hampshire Players Group also. M. E. KRIEGEL, lecturer. Rates, $27.50 to $32.50. Special Low June Rates. Write for booklet.
1202 Kings Highway, Brooklyn. ESplanade 5-4130
LOU KASS — LOU ROTHBLATT, Directors.

New! Smart! Attractive!
CHAPEL HILL COUNTRY CLUB
ATLANTIC HIGHLANDS, NEW JERSEY
GORGEOUS ESTATE OF 200 ACRES
Formal lawns and acres of woodland trails and bridle paths
Golf, tennis, handball, swimming, boating, riding, archery, ping-pong, badminton
Dancing, Entertainment, Excellent Cuisine
RATES:
Daily $6, $7, $8; Weekly $35 up
For reservations call Atlantic Highlands 896 or write P. O. Box 247, Atlantic Highlands, N. J.

CONNOISSEURS of Nature will find all they wish at ARTEMIS—Mountain, lake, peaceful charm, excellent food, sports. $5-$10 week-ends, $25.00 weekly. Write for literature. Miss Rogers, Artemis, Brewster, N. Y.

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK, N.Y.
Pleasurable retreat for rest and solitude, among scenic hills of Westchester Co. Hotel with camp activities. 100-acre estate, private lake, sports, golf nearby. 30 miles from city, excellent cuisine, reasonable rates. Special 3-day rates for July 4th week-end.
For information, write or telephone
ARMONK VILLAGE 955

RESORTS

FOR COMPLETE RELAXATION

VINEYARD LODGE
ULSTER PARK, N. Y.
"Garden Spot of Ulster County."
Where peace and tranquility reign supreme. Modern hotel midst beautiful orchards, vineyards and woodland. All sports, solariums, swimming. Special June Rates—$16 weekly.
J. ROSENTHAL, Kingston, 157-J-2

CONCRETE POOL, acres of lawn, shade, fruit, woods, unique houses, plumbing, tennis, hour commuting. P. J. Kohler, Congers, New York. Telephone 261-R.

GRAMOPHONE RECORD

ANNOUNCING AN EXTRAORDINARY SALE
100,000 PARLOPHONE, Odeon, Decca discs. These marvelous European recordings comprise the cream of the world's finest music. A selection to gratify every taste. Sale prices: 50c and 75c per record. Values $1.50 and $2.00. Mail orders. Catalog.
GRAMOPHONE SHOP, Inc., 16 East 48th St., N. Y. C.

POSITION WANTED

WRITER (Poet and Reviewer) of varied literary experience, whose work has appeared in well known magazines, desires position with publishing house. Address: Box 27, The New Republic.

LITERARY HELP

THESIS WORK, RESEARCH PAPERS. Special articles. Addresses promptly prepared to requirements of busy professionals. Our extensive experience available at moderate rates, with assurance of scholarly, serviceable results. Authors Research Bureau, 516 Fifth Avenue, New York.

FOR RENT

SUMMER, 3 ROOM furnished apartment, baby grand piano, 97th Street, off Central Park. $50. Address: Box 25, The New Republic.

PERSONAL

MATURE MALE companionship sought by mentally, emotionally, spiritually alive Californian woman. Address: Box 26, The New Republic.

LANGUAGES

SUMMER SPECIAL. Language Records and 15 private lessons. French, Spanish, Russian, etc. $25.00 Language Service, 507 5th Ave., MUrray Hill 2-4221.

CORRESPONDENCE CLUBS

DISGUSTED with the sham and hypocrisy of our fairytale civilization? Join Contacts' 2100 worldwide, debunked members. Unusual books loaned free. Send 3c stamp. Box 91 Station D, New York City.

HAPPINESS CIRCLE, the best anodyne for the lacs of camaraderie Enclose stamped envelope for details. Dept. W. Box 107, Grand Central Annex, New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED